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THEIR INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, BANKING TRANSACTIONS, AND NATIONAL WORKS; THEIR INSTITUTIONS AND CHARACTER, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND LITERARY;

WITH

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HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

ACCOUNT

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Revolution, from the Declaration of Independence to the Alliance with France.

General Causes of the Rupture—State of Parties in Britain and America—Washington's Preparations—Landing of Howe—Battle of Brooklyn—British enter New York—Retreat of the Americans—Howe occupies New Jersey—Advantages gained by Washington—Charges against the British Army unfounded—Plans of new Campaign—Movements of Howe—His landing in the Chesapeake—Battle of Brandywine—British in Philadelphia—Battle of Germantown—Washington at Valleyforge—Views and Prospects of the British Commander—Expedition of Burgoyne—Its Design—First Success—Difficulties—Battle of Bennington—Disaster of St Leger—Various Actions—Clinton's Expedition from New York—Burgoyne's Surrender—Effects of the Intelligence in England—Speech of Lord Chatham—Negotiations of America with France—Aid received from her—She concludes a Treaty of Alliance.

At this grand crisis, it may not be unseasonable to make a pause, and examine the causes which led to so violent a disjunction between the two great portions of the British empire. According to many, the inevitable time

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had come, when two such distant members must be severed. We incline, however, to think, that the connexion might with advantage have continued considerably longer; and certainly the course of rapid prosperity which the colonies had previously enjoyed met thus a serious interruption. It would no doubt have been necessary to slacken the reins, to allow them much of self-government, and give to the union somewhat of an equal and even federal character. On the contrary, the claim of supremacy was not only retained in full force, but was carried out, as it had never before been, into practical operation. It is evident, we think, that the British nation generally was implicated in this course. We have elsewhere found Lord Chatham complaining, that even its lowest classes were accustomed to talk with pride of their subjects in America. Burke decidedly considers the gaining of popularity to have been Townshend's motive in reviving the taxation scheme; and Mr Fuller, on the failure of his motion, declared, that the *nation* was misled. In answer to Hartley, who endeavoured to throw the blame on the ministry, Franklin is found declaring, that "the infinite number of addresses, the constant parliamentary majority, and the popular rejoicing at every victory, were felt as making the career completely national."* The mercantile interest, indeed, smarting severely under the war, soon began a strenuous opposition; but not a single country gentleman, it is observed, ever voted against it; a large inflexible majority was maintained in its favour; while even the most limited schemes of conciliation were strongly opposed. The war spirit seems to have been much more decided among this class than among the higher aristocracy, the opposition being always strongest in the Lords, and headed by some of the first nobility. There, as well as in the Commons, a small determined band of statesmen of the very highest class, and with splendid displays of eloquence, steadily asserted the cause of the colonies. As

* Sparks' Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution (12 vols 8vo, Boston, 1829), vol. iii. p. 24.

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usual, however, in such bodies, they maintained their opinions with an extreme and factious violence; while they incurred the reproach of having remained passive at the first proposition of the obnoxious measures, which they attacked only after the executive had been committed, and the evil produced.

It has of late been customary to reproach George III. as having, by his feelings and influence, been a leading agent in bringing about this issue; but down to the period now treated of, we can discover very slender grounds for the opinion. During the course of the discussions, two new administrations were introduced, not upon any compulsion, but of his own selection; both began their career with extensive concession; and it was only by unexpected events and parliamentary agency that they were diverted into a different course. None of the opposition ever dropt a hint of this nature; the most daring used a directly opposite language. We find Wilkes accusing ministers of having wrested the sceptre of America out of the hands of the sovereign; and Temple Luttrel remarking, that the five dethroned monarchs of England had been distinguished by conjugal and paternal affections; and that integrity and a guardless temper had subjected good kings to "the misguidance of their servants."* Letters, indeed, have been lately published, in which very strong feelings are expressed by his majesty on the subject; but these were written at a later period, after the pretensions to independence had been openly advanced, and with fair prospects of success. When we consider that he was repeatedly told from the opposite side, that the brightest gem was thus plucked from his crown, rendering it not worth the wearing, it must be acknowledged that there are few kings indeed whose feelings, in such circumstances, would not be somewhat intense; and in his case they would naturally be heightened by congress having given to the contest the form of a personal quarrel with himself.

* Parl. Register, vol. iii. pp. 8, 223.

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On turning to the American side, we find it still maintained by respectable authorities, that the purpose of separation was from the first deep and determined, though by a very dexterous policy the colonists contrived to throw upon the mother-country the appearance of being the aggressor. Yet we cannot but observe, that the collision was excited entirely by new encroachments made by the British government, and to the very last, the Americans simply demanded to be replaced in the same position as at the end of the preceding war. The late Canadian agitation, on the contrary, consisted wholly in new claims advanced by the colonial assemblies; and though it does not follow that these were all unreasonable, still a striking difference is thus to be found between the two cases. The best informed American historians, who would now seemingly have little motive to disguise the truth, assure us that, amid the ardour with which encroachment was resisted, deep reluctance and alarm were long felt at the idea of final separation. They admit even, what must be rather mortifying, that the leaders found great difficulty in gaining for this measure the consent of the people. We find Washington, during the time of the first congress, in a letter to Mackenzie, denying in strong terms the knowledge of any one by whom such a design was entertained. Franklin, in 1775, assured Chatham, that after having mixed in a variety of company from one end of the continent to the other, he had never heard the expression of such a wish; and Madison states May 1776 as the first date at which it began to prevail. There were doubtless a few leaders who early and ardently desired this consummation; such as, in Massachusetts, Adams, and probably Quincy. The former is said at the battle of Lexington to have exclaimed:—"Oh, what a glorious morning!" It happened that letters from him, strongly breathing this spirit, and written only a fortnight after the last petition from congress to the king, were intercepted, and sent to the British government. As he was one of those who signed that petition, there appeared room to allege that

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all the others were equally insincere, and that no reliance could be placed on this and similar documents. The explanation given was, that congress had from the first agreed to allow no differences of opinion among themselves to transpire, but every decision of the majority to be given to the world as that of the united body; and upon this ground, though he had personally opposed the petition, yet being outvoted, he considered himself bound to put down his name along with the others.*

After the declaration of independence and open war, a large body still remained ardently attached to the mother-country. It has even been asserted that they formed a numerical majority;† and though this opinion appeared to us at first the result of party feelings, further researches have rather tended to confirm it. The inhabitants of the cities and the mercantile bodies urged on the contest; but the agricultural population, by far the most numerous, were greatly disinclined to it. It is early stated, that the agitation in New York was confined to the city, and had scarcely at all spread into the country. Marshall admits that Howe found numerous supporters in that state and the neighbouring one of New Jersey; while Washington, at a later period, declares, that the spirit of all Pennsylvania was bad, with the single exception of Philadelphia. In Carolina, a rising early took place in favour of the royalist cause; and at a very advanced period, when the struggle seemed even decided, they openly declared in its favour. Gordon gives a very natural picture of the feelings among these industrious proprietors, who, distant from the scene of tumult, lived in abundance on the produce of their fields. It was vain to assure them that they were miserable and oppressed; they felt themselves perfectly happy, and the British government, represented as so tyrannical, never gave them the slightest annoyance. They saw most reluctantly this peaceful order broken up, and as

* Sparks' Writings of Washington, vol. ii. p. 496-501.

† Galloway's Letters to a Nobleman on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies, p. 41.

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they thought by the efforts of a few daring and factious spirits. Yet the British were disappointed when, on the report of these sentiments, they called upon them to rise in arms and join the royal standard. What they desired was, to be left as they were, and have no disturbance on the subject. To exchange their peaceful labours for the hardships and perils of the field, was what they were by no means prepared for.* Thus, while the enemies of Britain were concentrated, active, zealous, her friends were scattered, passive, and inert. There remained still a class, small in number, yet who acted a prominent part. These were the rude borderers, who roved through the unbroken forests, or on the rough slopes of the Alleghany. Engaged here in perpetual contest with wild beasts and wilder men, war, which broke up all the habits and enjoyments of the cultivator, presented theirs under a heightened and more animating form. In the straggling warfare which could alone be waged in those rude and entangled tracts, they were equal or superior to the best-trained regular troops. The free and daring habits generated by this mode of life were probably the cause which led most of them to embrace with ardour the independent cause; and the British, whenever they penetrated deep into the interior, roused this game from its lair, and in conflicting with it, experienced the most signal and formidable disasters.

In the decisive posture which affairs had now assumed, Washington was actively endeavouring to organize the means of maintaining the hazardous contest upon which he had entered, as well as of resisting the attack that immediately impended. His most urgent representations to congress upon the necessity of forming a permanent army had been disregarded; and he found himself at the head of a motley group, in which soldiers, enlisted only for a year half elapsed, were mixed with militia whose ser-

* Parl. Register, vol. i. p. 74. Tarleton's History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 (London, 1787), p. 324. Washington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 230. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 486. Gordon, vol. ii. pp. 103, 104.

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vices were to be still more temporary. In these circumstances, the restraints of discipline extended little beyond the general orders. The different states, having hitherto been almost entirely separated, viewed each other with jealous and even hostile feelings, which were shared by their respective troops, who would, it is said, more cheerfully have fought with their neighbours than with the common enemy. Their leader was soon painfully convinced, that though bodies of people may be inspired with bursts of patriotism, self-interest soon becomes among them the ruling principle. Availing themselves of the possession of arms, they indulged in predatory practices of the most scandalous nature. The inferior officers were chosen by the men, who endeavoured in various ways to turn this privilege to account. A previous stipulation, it appears, was often made, that the surplus of the officers' pay above that of the privates should be thrown into a common stock, and equally shared. Some were even promoted in consequence of having followed the occupation of barber, on condition of exercising it upon the persons of their company; while there were instances of captains being dismissed for stealing their soldiers' blankets. In general, however, they were willing to fight, and had shown themselves capable both of forming and defending intrenchments. Washington made it a rule never to spare the spade; many were well skilled in the desultory use of the rifle, yet ill fitted for a field campaign with a large body of regular troops. Even of these ineffective soldiers there were, at the beginning of July 1776, only 17,000; and though they were raised in a few weeks to 27,000, it was mostly by militia, numbers of whom were soon on the sick-list.*

Meantime, General Howe was engaged in conveying his army to the scene of action. The abrupt departure from Boston had considerably deranged his plans, as all

* Gordon, vol. ii. p. 333. Marshall, vol. ii. pp. 496-501, 545. Sparks, vol. i. p. 188. Washington's Letters, vol. i. p. 270.

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the supplies were directed toward that city, and some thus fell into the hands of the enemy. In June, however, the armament set sail; and he himself landed at Sandy Hook, a long promontory forming the northern extremity of New Jersey. He preferred, however, to land the troops on Staten, an island south of Long Island, much smaller, and separated by a narrow channel. On the 3d July, he disembarked there without opposition, being greeted with warm assurances of welcome and support from the adjacent territories. On the 12th, he was joined by his brother, Lord Howe, who had been appointed commander of the fleet, and also joint commissioner to treat of pacification; while the ships, with the large reinforcements from Britain, began arriving in successive detachments. As operations were delayed till the whole were assembled, his lordship circulated a proclamation, offering full pardon to all who should return to their duty, and to any port or colony so acting, peace, protection, and free trade. No concession being mentioned as to the original grounds of dispute, congress considered it so unsatisfactory that they studiously circulated it among the people, to many of whom, however, it seems to have been more acceptable than they expected. Lord Howe also attempted to open communications with Washington; but as he did not choose to address him under his title of general, his advances were politely declined.*

The British designs had been well concealed, and the American commander remained long in anxious doubt whether the inroad was not to be made on the side of Canada. Considering New York, however, as the most probable and dangerous point, he had been diligently strengthening all its approaches. Having determined also to make a stand for the defence of Long Island, he formed strong lines at Brooklyn, nearly opposite to the city, stationing the flower of his troops along a range of strongly fortified heights in front of the

* Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 411-413. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 486-494.

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British quarters on Staten Island. Howe, meantime, on pretty solid grounds, and with his characteristic caution, waited till his whole force was mustered, when he could follow up without interruption any success he might obtain. He complained particularly of a deficiency in camp equipage. About the middle of August, he had been joined by nearly all the reinforcements from Britain, and also by those from the south under Clinton and Cornwallis, which augmented his force to about 30,000 men. He still, however, waited a few days on account of the intense heat, which, he dreaded, would injure the health of the troops.

At length, on the 22d August, the British army crossed the channel, and, covered by the guns of the fleet, landed on Long Island, taking post opposite to the range of heights occupied by the enemy. Washington, in the immediate view of this grand contest, issued repeated addresses, strenuously encouraging his men, and seeking to inspire a confidence which he himself was unable to share. Howe, on viewing the enemy's position, considered it too strong to be carried in front, but formed a plan for turning it. Before day on the 27th, General Grant, with the Hessian troops under De Heister, attacked the American right wing, which, being connected with Brooklyn, was considered the most important, and which the enemy directed all their efforts to reinforce. These officers, in conjunction with the fleet, kept up a brisk and continued fire, tending to confirm this impression, yet avoiding to make any material advance. Meantime, during the night, a strong detachment of the English army, under Clinton and Cornwallis, made a wide circuit through a pass in the hills round the extreme American left. This had been insufficiently guarded by a mere party of observation, which was surprised and captured; so that Clinton reached almost unresisted the level plain behind the enemy's position. About half-past eight, he appeared in their rear, while Grant and De Heister began pushing forward with their utmost vigour. No choice was then left but for the whole

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army to regain the intrenched camp at Brooklyn, in reaching which they fell into the utmost confusion, and were pursued on both flanks with dreadful slaughter. Lord Stirling attempted to cover the retreat by an attack with a chosen corps upon Lord Cornwallis, but was surrounded and taken prisoner with all his detachment. The entire loss is stated at upwards of 3000, including 1100 prisoners, among whom was General Sullivan. That of the British was only 367 killed, wounded, and taken. Washington, from Brooklyn, witnessed with deep anguish the total overthrow of his army, while Howe, from the other side, viewed with triumph the complete success of his manœuvre, which achieved for him a decided military reputation.

He was now advised by some to attack the enemy's lines, which he admits might have been carried, but with the loss of 1500 men, while he would have been sure by manœuvring to dislodge them. Yet, considering their state of confusion and dismay, the estimate of loss was probably overrated, and it was of vast importance to have made the blow immediate and complete. On the 29th, Washington with great activity conveyed over during the night the whole army, with most of its artillery, in safety to New York.*

The commissioners, who certainly showed an anxious desire for pacification, chose this occasion to send Sullivan, the captured general, to congress, stating that they could not indeed as yet acknowledge its political character, but inviting some of its members to a conference. A deputation was sent, consisting of Adams, Franklin, and Rutledge,—strenuous votaries of independence. Lord Howe received them with great politeness; but his offers included merely, as usual, a general amnesty, and a promise to reconsider the obnoxious acts; while they declared a treaty inadmissible on any basis, except that of the states being acknowledged independent. On

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 500-519. Sparks, vol. i. p. 187-192. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 507-519. Howe's Narrative, pp. 4, 5. Despatches in Parl. Register, vol. xi. p. 333, &c.

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these terms there could not be the least approximation between the two parties.*

General Howe now proceeded with measures for driving the republicans out of New York, which, as usual, he sought to effect rather by circuitous manœuvre than by direct assault. He prepared expeditions to ascend the opposite branches of the Hudson, which enclose New York Island, and by landing above the city oblige the enemy either to evacuate or be completely shut up within it. Washington, viewing with alarm these movements, called a council of officers, and recommended the immediate withdrawal of the troops; but strong objections being expressed, it was determined rather to leave there 5000 men, while the main body occupied a strong post at Kingsbridge, connecting the northern point of the island with the continent. As the British operations advanced, the perils attending this detached position became evident, so that by general consent the evacuation was determined upon, and the utmost activity employed in removing the artillery and stores. On the 15th September, Clinton landed at Kipp's Bay, a position strongly fortified, and defended by eight regiments; but, dispirited by late disasters, they fled without attempting resistance, and Washington in vain strove to rally them. It was then necessary with the utmost haste to withdraw the troops, which was effected with the loss of only about 300 prisoners; but they left behind them a large quantity of artillery, stores, and camp equipage, the want of which was most sensibly felt.†

The British army now entered on the peaceable occupation of New York; yet it was disturbed by a distressing occurrence. On the night of the 20th or morning of the 21st September, a fire broke out, which continued to rage till a third of the city was consumed. Washington had suggested to congress its destruction

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 529-535.

† Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 424-426. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 536-544. Sparks, vol. i. p. 197-200.

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in case of being obliged to evacuate it; and though they did not approve of such a measure, it has been hence suspected that some zealous independents had kindled the conflagration. Gordon gives another account, which seems probable enough, and was, he says, confirmed by eyewitnesses;—that, amid the rejoicings and revelry of the troops on their entry, the flames broke out in an obscure tavern, in the most crowded quarter; while from the same circumstances they for some time spread undiscovered, and were with the utmost difficulty extinguished.*

Washington now took post on Haarlem Heights, a range which crossed the island, and had been so carefully fortified, that Howe with his wonted caution did not venture an attack. His plan was to oblige the enemy to relinquish the post by landing on the eastern shore, thus threatening their rear and communication with New England. As a preliminary, three frigates were sent up the main stream of the Hudson; and, notwithstanding the resistance made by Forts Washington and Lee, and by chevaux-de-frize sunk in the channel, they passed without injury. Before pushing into the interior, the British commander spent about three weeks,—seemingly a needless waste of time,—in fortifying New York. On the 12th October, having placed the flower of his army in flat-bottomed boats, he proceeded up the eastern channel, and through the pass of Hell-gate, to the point called Frog's Neck. Finding his advance here much obstructed, he re-embarked and landed higher up at Pell's Point, whence he advanced upon New Rochelle. The American commander, meantime, had called a council of war, which decided that the position on New York Island was no longer secure; and the troops accordingly crossed at Kingsbridge, taking up a position extending thence eastward towards White Plains, which was fortified as well as time would admit. Howe, on coming up and recon-

* Gordon, vol. ii. p. 331. Washington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 246.

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noitring, determined to attack first a detached corps of 1600 men under General M'Dougall, who, after a sharp but short conflict, were dislodged; but the general position was judged so strong as to make it advisable to wait for some reinforcements. These arrived, and the attack was preparing; when, during the night of the 31st, Washington retired to a range of heights five miles in his rear, which he had been employed in strengthening. To the cautious view of the British commander this post appeared so formidable that he determined to change the seat of war to New Jersey, a less defensible territory, whither his antagonist would be obliged to follow him.*

As a preliminary, he resolved to attack Fort Washington, a strong post still held by the enemy on New York Island. The commander had been inclined to evacuate it, and secure the garrison, which comprised a large portion of his best troops; and repeated experience showed it inadequate to prevent the enemy's ships from passing up and down the river. Greene, however, who commanded on the Jersey side, highly estimated its value, and insisted that the garrison, when hard pressed, could at any time be withdrawn. Howe, with an unusual boldness, determined to attempt the place by storm; and, on the 16th November, the army, in four divisions, advanced to the assault. In a few hours they had carried all the outworks, in which the chief strength consisted; and Magaw, the governor, felt himself obliged to capitulate, though Washington sent word, that if he could hold out till evening, an attempt would be made to rescue him. The prisoners amounted to 2818, rendering the loss nearly as heavy as at the battle on Long Island; while the royal army had 800 killed and wounded. Cornwallis immediately landed with a strong force on the Jersey shore, when the enemy found it necessary, in great haste, to evacuate

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 568-581. Sparks, vol. i. p. 208-212. Howe's Narrative, pp. 5, 106. Washington's Letters, vol. i. p. 251-254, &c.

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Fort Lee, opposite to Fort Washington. The garrison was saved, but the cannon, tents, and stores were left behind.*

The American army was now pursued through New Jersey, a level country, which afforded no defensible position, and time was not allowed to fortify any. After a retreat of three weeks, Washington only secured himself by crossing to the opposite side of the Delaware. The critical period was again approaching, when the terms for which the troops had been enlisted would expire. Exhausted and dispirited, they eagerly availed themselves of the liberty thus afforded, and even anticipated it without any regard to the exigencies of the service. He had been urging in the strongest terms upon congress the ruinous nature of the temporary system hitherto pursued, warning them that, without a permanent and well-organized army, the cause was lost. Seconded by the disastrous state of affairs, he had been empowered to raise first eighty-eight, and then sixteen more regular battalions; to give higher bounties and pay; and to act in other respects for six months as a military dictator. The men, however, were not yet raised, and present circumstances were little calculated to invite them into the service. In crossing the Delaware, he had with him only three thousand, independent of a detachment lert at White Plains under General Lee. That officer, while reluctantly obeying the order to join the main force, and suspected to be meditating some schemes of his own, was surprised and made prisoner,—an event which threw additional gloom over the American prospects.†

The course seemed now open before Howe to cross the Delaware with the utmost possible expedition, and advance on Philadelphia. Though probably not aware of the extreme weakness of his antagonist, he could not suppose him to have any force capable of arresting such a movement. The river was unfordable; but vigorous

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 585-592. Sparks, vol. i. p. 213-216.
† Marshall, vol. ii. pp. 593-599, 607-609. Washington's Letters, vol. i. pp. 268, 269.

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exertion could surely have provided the means of passing, which the ice at all events would soon have rendered easy. Washington entertained no doubt of this being his opponent's intention; and, though its accomplishment "would wound the heart of every virtuous American," declares himself wholly without the means of preventing it.* Congress in consequence removed their sittings to Baltimore. Historians have indulged various conjectures why the English general did not follow this course, imputing it mostly to the supposed want of boats; but had they taken the trouble to read his despatches, they would have found that he had arranged another plan, leading him in quite a different direction. This was to march up the Hudson to Albany, where he would meet Burgoyne from Canada, and it was supposed cut off the communication between the northern and southern states, so as to carry on operations at will against either. It must be owned that Washington repeatedly mentions this plan as probable, and expresses dread from its execution;† yet we cannot help thinking it most injudicious and inefficient. In ascending the Hudson, he would have marched through a country then very rude and thinly peopled, and becoming always more desolate as he advanced. At Albany he would have been almost in a complete wilderness, separated by two or three hundred miles of almost impassable country from any great city or central point. The idea of maintaining a communication from New York with Canada, across three hundred miles of forest and swamp, appears very chimerical; and Cornwallis besides remarks, that the American general, by occupying the lower Hudson, might have cut him off from the former position.‡ By possessing himself of Philadelphia he would have separated the two quarters as completely as it was possible; he would have held two of the four chief

* Washington's Letters, vol. i. p. 343.

† Howe's Despatches in Parl. Register, vol. xi. pp. 260, 362. Washington's Official Letters, vol. i. p. 134; vol. ii. p. 110.

‡ Examination in Parliamentary Register, vol. xiii. p. 21-24.

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cities then in America, including the most central and the seat of congress. He would have heightened that panic which had struck all the colonies, and might have had a chance, the only one that ever offered, of finally triumphing. He himself afterwards felt and has pointed out the errors of his first plan; but it was too late; he had thrown away an opportunity which never returned.

Notwithstanding this fatal omission, the campaign had been a series of great and almost uninterrupted success. Still, though the American cause seemed reduced to the lowest ebb, congress remained firm, announcing to their countrymen and to the powers of Europe a determination to adhere immutably to the declaration of independence. Washington felt with almost exaggerated force the weight of the evils that pressed upon the cause; yet, with a firm and bold spirit, he watched every opportunity of retrieving it. He had collected about 5000 or 6000 men, and prevailed upon some, whose service had expired, to remain for other six weeks. The English army, covering the Jerseys, was ranged along the Delaware, from Trenton to Burlington, on which line there was reason to believe that no very strict watch would be kept. The bold genius of Arnold hence conceived a plan, which was eagerly adopted by the commander.* The troops being formed into three detachments, he, with the strongest, amounting to 2400, crossed the river on the night of the 25th December, and from two opposite points attacked Trenton, then occupied by Colonel Rhalle with a strong body of Hessians. That officer, while hastily mustering his men, received a mortal wound; and the whole corps, surprised and surrounded, speedily surrendered. The two other detachments were arrested by severe cold and tempest, otherwise they might, it was hoped, have been equally successful, and a sweep made of the whole range of positions. Washington, however, had good reason to congratulate himself on carrying off nearly

* Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 440.

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1000 prisoners, with only ten of his own men killed and wounded,—a most unexpected event, which wonderfully revived the sinking spirits of his countrymen. Howe and Cornwallis unite in throwing the blame of this great disaster upon Rhalle, who, it is said, received instructions to intrench this post, which he neglected to execute; but it is clear that a commander ought not to content himself with issuing orders, without seeing well that they are fulfilled. One of these generals, from their winter-quarters, could easily have made a circuit of the line of defence, to make sure that it was properly secured; and we cannot but suspect that neither of them had any apprehension of so serious a movement.

Washington now crossed the Delaware, and, with 5000 men, took post at Trenton; but Cornwallis, mustering all his force, advanced upon him; and, on the 2d January 1777, the two armies were separated only by a creek. The American general easily saw that, by engaging here a superior army, he ran imminent hazard of being defeated, and driven over the Delaware with great disadvantage and loss. He formed a bold design: breaking up silently in the night, he moved round the British right, and advanced rapidly upon Brunswick, where their chief magazines were lodged. He might seemingly have succeeded, had he not encountered at Princeton three regiments coming up to join the main army. The Americans were at first defeated, and General Mercer killed; but Washington, by extraordinary exertions, restored the action, separated his opponents, and obliged them to retreat in different directions. He then, however, saw advancing against him the van of Cornwallis, who, having received the alarm, hastened to frustrate his scheme; and as he could not hazard a battle without the certainty of defeat, with the risk of having his retreat cut off, he prudently fell back. In this skirmish, the loss on both sides was nearly equal; but the having made another bold offensive movement without disadvantage, heightened greatly the favourable impression produced by his former enterprise. The English

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general then repaired to Brunswick, and limited himself to a defensive line thence to Amboy, merely covering New York. This, in a military sense, was perhaps most eligible; but with a view to moral effect, it would have been better to have resumed, almost at any cost, his former positions, and not allowed his weak and beaten enemy to reoccupy nearly the whole of the Jerseys.*

There is another point which, as it somewhat concerns British honour, we cannot help particularly noticing. According to all the historians on both sides of the Atlantic, the ravages committed by the English troops in the Jerseys resembled those of the most barbarous army; no distinction was made between friend and foe; the wretched inhabitants were happy to escape sometimes in their shirts, abandoning all their property; and female honour was not secured, even by the venerable age of eighty. These charges, we are persuaded, had little if any foundation in truth, but originated in the local newspapers, animated by fervid party zeal, and were thence transmitted to congress. That body, with avowed political motives, formed them into a proclamation, which was widely circulated, along with an undignified recital of the opprobrious terms said to have been applied to the independents.† Galloway, indeed, the organ of the refugees, repeated the charge, and has been copied by Adolphus and other English writers; but he had then constituted himself the accuser of Howe, and thus gained the favour of the ministry, who were willing by that time to throw the whole blame on that officer. Howe himself solemnly declares, that his orders and proclamations against plundering were incessant; that Cornwallis used his utmost exertions to prevent it; and he verily believes there never were fewer enormities committed by any army. Only one complaint occurred of wrong to a female, when the proper proceed-

* Marshall, vol. ii. p. 614-628. Howe's Narrative, p. 60. Cornwallis' Evidence in Parl. Register, vol. xiii. p. 5.

† Gordon, vol. ii. pp. 415, 457-460.

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ings were taken.* Now, Howe and Cornwallis were men of strict honour and character, whose testimony must rank decidedly above that of local and party journals. The report received indeed, to a limited extent, the high sanction of Washington, in a proclamation issued after his reoccupation of the country. Yet it is very singular that, though in constant communication with congress during the whole period when these ravages were said to have been carried on, he never made the most distant allusion to them; nay, on one occasion, he laments that the enemy had used every device to seduce both citizens and soldiers into their service, and had succeeded but too well; expressions which seem strangely at variance with the alleged indiscriminate outrages. May we not suspect that, after congress had stamped so solemn a sanction on the reports, and probably pressed them on his attention, he felt it impossible, without almost insulting that body, to omit all mention of them in this formal appeal to the people!

All the above authorities add, that the outrages of the English army produced the natural effect of rousing a determined spirit of resistance; and that the militia in consequence rose and took an active part in driving out the invader. This second part, no doubt, combines extremely well with the first, and has really no fault, except that of being a perfect fable. The evacuation of the Jerseys was produced by the events already narrated, which were in no degree aided by any rising among the people. Washington's proclamation, above referred to, was issued after Cornwallis' retreat; and in enclosing it to congress, he merely expresses a hope that surely some of the militia *will* be thus induced to join him. This hope proved fallacious; for, in his next despatch, he complains that this class of force had diminished; and on repeated occasions he indignantly notices its inefficiency, as well as the lukewarmness and disaffection among the inhabitants of New Jersey.† When we find the effects

* Howe's Narrative, p. 59.

† Letters, vol. ii. pp. 2, 3, 6, 21, 25, 87, 222.

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ascribed to the English ravages thus completely fabulous, our doubts as to their existence, reported on the very same authorities, cannot fail to be greatly strengthened.

A few observations here suggest themselves, as to the treatment endured by the people during this severe and protracted contest. Both parties, at once from excited passions and through political motives, continued to charge each other with the most ruthless cruelties. Congress ceased not to collect and circulate reports to this effect; and it appears they strongly urged Dr Franklin to form them into a schoolbook; but he seems to have had little disposition for the task.* As an instance of these groundless rumours, we find General Gates complaining to Burgoyne of his giving a price for every scalp brought in by the Indians; when the fact was that the payment was made for living prisoners, and with an express view to prevent scalping.† On the other side, we find a loyalist association complaining of the hundreds of their friends put to death with or without the mockery of law. Lord Rawdon describes the sufferings of the loyalists as unexampled, and denounces the savage cruelty of the rebel militia; and Lord Cornwallis characterizes it as the most oppressive and cruel tyranny ever exercised over any country.‡

There was doubtless exaggeration on both sides; yet the national sufferings do appear to have materially exceeded those usually experienced in civilized warfare. The British from the first held themselves entitled to treat the revolted colonists in arms as traitors; and whenever congress had proclaimed independence, they applied the same term and the same law to those who adhered to the mother-country. This they could not perhaps avoid; yet it was a peculiar hardship, that men should be branded with treason for adhering to the government under which they had been bred, and to which

* Sparks' Diplom. Correspond. vol. iii. p. 127.

† Parl. Register, vol. ix. pp. 219, 220.

‡ Documents in Remembrancer, vol. xiii. p. 156-159; vol. xv. pp. 12, 263.

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perhaps they had sworn allegiance. Washington endeavoured to procure for them liberty to retire beyond the lines; though even then they left behind all their property and employments, and became ruined men. In general, the commanders-in-chief on both sides acted with honour and humanity, and endeavoured to carry on war according to civilized usages; but we cannot say quite so much of either government. Washington, in his correspondence with congress respecting the treatment of prisoners, seems to infer, that if their sentiments on that subject were made public, the national character would be ruined. Howe states that he was constantly reproached by the government at home for his lenient course towards the malecontents; while Lord Sandwich, at a later period, being arraigned in parliament for the scanty rations allowed to the American captives, replied that they were considered and treated, not as prisoners of war, but as criminals.*

It now behoved the British commander-in-chief to form plans for the approaching campaign; and the first which he communicated was in accordance with the general views we have observed him to entertain. A detachment being left to cover New Jersey, one expedition was to ascend the Hudson, another to land at Rhode Island, and endeavour thence to push on to Boston. This course seems liable to all the objections already stated, with the additional one of its dividing the active force into two entirely detached portions. It would also have required a reinforcement of 15,000 men, which, it appears, was not likely to be forthcoming. On further consideration, he decided in favour of an expedition against Philadelphia, which could be accomplished with a smaller force, and was favoured by the reported disposition of the inhabitants. This was approved by the ministry, and, for reasons above stated, seems the wisest course, though too tardily adopted.

* Washington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 236. Howe's Narrative, p. 58, &c. Parl. Register, vol. xxi. p. 321.

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A detachment had already been sent, under Clinton, to occupy Rhode Island,—a measure justly censured by Botta, as weakening, for this very subordinate object, the main body, still scarcely adequate to its destination. Lord Howe considered it very important as a naval station; but he should have considered that it was by land operations only that the campaign was to be decided.

The remainder of the winter was employed by the English in making a few expeditions for the destruction of stores, generally successful, though at Danbury they encountered a sharp resistance, and lost about 200 in killed and wounded. The Americans also made an attack at Sagg's Harbour, on Long Island, where they destroyed some shipping and stores. Washington, meantime, was actively employing those powers for raising and organizing troops which the exigency of affairs had at length extorted from congress. Levies, however, went on very slowly, through the discouraging state of the cause and the rigour of the season; so that, at the opening of the campaign, he had not mustered quite 8000 men. These, however, were in an improved state of discipline, bearing somewhat the aspect and character of a regular army; and during the winter months, he had strongly intrenched them in a position covering the route to Philadelphia. Howe considered it inexpedient to open the campaign till the middle of June, when the forage was green on the ground,—a delay the necessity of which has been doubted. He then assumed a position in front of the enemy, which he maintained six days; but, after having carefully reconnoitred their camp, considered it too strong for attack, and fell back to his original station. His next manœuvre was to commence an apparently precipitate retreat; by which Washington was so far deceived, that he engaged in a hasty pursuit, when the royal troops, as soon as the enemy were close upon them, wheeled round and made a brisk attack. Lord Cornwallis pursued a detachment under Lord Stirling to a considerable distance; but the American general, on seeing his error, exerted such activity in

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withdrawing his detachments, that they regained their intrenched position without very serious loss.*

The British commander, having thus failed in his attempts to bring the enemy to action, conceived it impossible, in their face, to attempt the passage of so broad a river as the Delaware. There appeared no alternative but to embark his army, and, by a great circuit, land them at the head of the Chesapeake. Galloway derides this course, insisting that during June and July that stream was at many points fordable;† and we cannot indeed help thinking, that a bold and energetic commander would have made his way across, in spite of resistance from so inferior an antagonist. At all events, Howe, who had the long winter to deliberate and inquire, might surely have ascertained whether the passage was practicable, and if not, have embarked his army early in the season, instead of losing a great part of it, and allowing the enemy to collect his strength. In fact, the British force was not on board till the 5th July, and did not reach its destination till the 24th August, when it was landed without opposition.‡

Washington had been carefully watching its movements, and recruiting his own force, which he had raised to 14,000, — not the most numerous, but the most efficient of any he had hitherto commanded. He determined, therefore, to risk a battle in defence of Philadelphia, though conscious that its issue must be very doubtful; but otherwise the expectations of the country would be disappointed, and a discouragement ensue worse than defeat. The only considerable river on the route was the Brandywine, along whose high banks he drew up his army, erecting batteries and intrenchments for the defence of the principal fords. Howe's advance to this point was obstructed only by skirmishes with his advanced guard; yet proceeding with characteristic deliberation, he did not reach it till the 11th September.

* Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 503-505. Sparks, vol. i. pp. 244, 245.
† Letters to a Nobleman, p. 67. Reply to Sir William Howe, p. 53.
‡ Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 506. Sparks, vol. i. p. 250.

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Determining then upon an attack, he made his arrangements with skill and judgment. Knyphausen, with the Hessians, attacked the enemy's front, driving them across the river, with apparently vigorous attempts to follow, yet avoiding any actual advance. Meantime, a strong division under Cornwallis, accompanied by Howe himself, made a circuit of seventeen miles to pass by the upper fords. Washington had received some intimation of this movement, but, distracted by opposite reports, did not sufficiently provide against it. Cornwallis reached the right of the American army before it had time to form, and, by a vigorous attack, he completely broke and drove them before him. Knyphausen, as soon as he heard this firing, pushed forward with his whole force, when the American centre, already alarmed by the disaster of its right, gave way at every point. After some vain attempts by Greene to cover the retreat, the whole army fled in various directions, losing 900 killed and wounded, and 400 prisoners. Howe has been severely blamed for not following up this as well as other victories; while he and Cornwallis reply, that this was neither practicable nor safe in a country encumbered with immense woods, where the fugitive army easily found shelter, and could have harassed their pursuers with a desultory warfare.*

The American general soon reassembled his defeated army, and though slowly retreating, did not give up all hopes of saving Philadelphia. He was even about again to engage the enemy, when a violent storm, continued during a whole day and night, prevented the conflict and rendered his ammunition useless. Still it was only by skilful manœuvres that his opponent succeeded in entering the capital, and obliging him to retreat beyond it. Congress, who had returned thither, removed first to Lancaster and then to Yorktown.†

Thus established in Philadelphia, Howe pushed for-

* Sparks, vol. i. p. 251-253. Adolphus, vol. ii. pp. 507, 508. Howe's Narrative, pp. 26, 27. Cornwallis' Evidence, in Parl. Register, vol. xiii. p. 2-26.

† Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 510. Sparks, vol. i. p. 256.

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ward the main body of his force to Germantown. A large part, however, was employed in reducing a chain of forts and batteries, which the Americans had erected on the Lower Delaware, interrupting the direct communication with the sea, where Admiral Lord Howe, after landing the troops at the head of the Chesapeake, had brought round the fleet. Washington, having received some reinforcements, determined to take advantage of this divided state of the army by a sudden attack on the portion stationed at Germantown. At seven o'clock in the evening of the 3d October, his troops advanced in four divisions, and, having marched fourteen miles, at daybreak took the British completely by surprise. For some time he carried all before him; but he was arrested by a large stone building, obstinately defended by six companies, and which he is blamed for having stopped to reduce. On the opposing force being fully drawn forth, he was defeated at every point, with the loss of upwards of a thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Notwithstanding this unfortunate issue, a favourable impression of his resources was conveyed by his resuming the offensive so soon after the defeat at Brandywine.*

The British troops were now employed in reducing the defences of the Delaware. In attacking the fort of Red Bank, a detachment under Count Donop, a gallant German officer, was repulsed with the loss of about 400 men, and the commander mortally wounded. It was afterwards relinquished on the approach of a superior force; but November had nearly closed before the passage for the fleet was completely cleared. Howe then, on the 4th December, marched out with the view of again bringing the American general to battle. The latter, having received 4000 additional troops from the north, had taken up a position at Whitemarsh, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia, which he considered so strong, that his letters express a desire of being there

* Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 513. Sparks, vol. i. pp. 257, 258.

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attacked; but the English general, upon a careful survey, declined the engagement, and, after some days' skirmishing, fell back upon the capital. The attention of the American commander was then anxiously directed to the choice of winter-quarters. After much hesitation, he fixed upon Valleyforge, on the Schuylkill, a very wild and bare spot, but well fitted for straitening the English position, and overawing the inhabitants, who were generally disaffected. The troops laboured under a scarcity of provisions, and still more of clothes and shoes; so that their marches were marked by tracks of blood from their wounded feet. The country people were indisposed to supply goods, and set very little value on the paper certificates offered in return; but Washington on one occasion only would agree to a compulsory requisition. The encampment consisted of rude log-huts, erected by the soldiers, in one of which twelve were lodged. Their sufferings during the winter were most intense, and their endurance is highly creditable to their own fortitude, and the persuasive influence of their distinguished commander.*

Howe had now made two successful campaigns; yet his reports to the home authorities, as to the prospects of conquering America, were by no means flattering. He occupied indeed New York and Philadelphia, with a certain territory round them; but the American army was still unbroken, and the determination of congress as firm as ever. The people indeed showed good-will, but of that inert kind which scarcely brought any increase of strength. In the Jerseys, the English had obtained 3600 recruits; in Pennsylvania only 978. His present force he considered barely sufficient to maintain the extended positions now held; so that, without reinforcements in spring, he would be unprepared for offensive operations against either the northern or southern states. Apprized with what difficulty these could be furnished from home, he urged the employ-

* Adolphus, vol. ii. pp. 515, 516. Sparks, vol. i. p. 261-264.

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ment of an auxiliary corps of Russians; but was not aware that these could not be procured. On these representations we find Lord Germaine already expressing despondence as to the prospects of subduing the colonies, if they should continue united; but as yet neither party were aware of an event which was destined materially to change the aspect of affairs.*

We have already noticed that the American expedition against Canada had been signally disastrous. After being severely repulsed at Quebec, they had, in the course of December 1776, been compelled entirely to evacuate the province. The plan was then formed to send from that country a strong British force, which, penetrating across the back settlements of New York, might form a junction with Howe, and second his operations.† The scheme, which was owned by Lord Germaine, had a plausible appearance; yet it must be admitted that armies have rarely succeeded in finding their way to each other from opposite and distant quarters, with great and unknown obstacles intervening. The command was bestowed on Burgoyne, an officer of merit; but his superseding Carleton, who had highly distinguished himself in the defence of Canada, was by no means popular. The former seems early to have felt doubts as to the expediency of the path pointed out to him, and requested permission, should circumstances require, either to convey his force by sea to New York, doubtless the most eligible plan, or to take the more questionable course of invading the back settlements of New England. The minister, however, positively interdicted any other than that of forcing his way to Albany, and placing himself under the command of Howe.‡ This was obviously connected with the design of the latter to pene-

* Despatches in Parl. Register, vol. xi. p. 418-437. Ibid. vol. viii. p. 92. Howe's Narrative, p. 53.

† Parl. Register, vol. viii. pp. 21, 97; vol. xi. p. 478. Burgoyne's Narrative, pref. p. ix-xvi.

‡ Burgoyne's Narrative, p. xi. &c. Parl. Register, vol. xi. p. 475-478.

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trate into the interior along the line of the Hudson. For this we have seen him, in the winter of 1776-77, substitute the march upon Philadelphia,—a change in itself apparently judicious, but obviously requiring a corresponding one in Burgoyne's destination, of which, however, a strange and fatal oblivion seems to have possessed all parties. Howe argues, that Lord Germaine, after hearing and approving his new project, had ample time to communicate with that officer,* which was true; but surely he himself, as supreme military director, ought to have pointed out the circumstance, and suggested the proper course now to be followed.

About the middle of June 1777, Burgoyne began his march, with 6700 British and Germans, to which he could only add 250 Canadians and 400 Indians. His first movement was against Crown Point and Ticonderago, considered the barriers of the Union on that frontier. These forts, which the Americans so fortunately acquired at the beginning of the contest, had been enlarged and strengthened, and were now garrisoned by above 3000 men. When, however, on the 5th July, the works were nearly invested, General St Clair called a council of officers, who decided that the force, being mostly militia, was insufficient for their defence. A retreat was therefore effected during the night, the baggage and stores being embarked upon Lake George. As soon as morning betrayed this movement, a vigorous pursuit was commenced, several detachments were cut off, and the flotilla on the lake destroyed; while the American forces, greatly reduced in numbers, retreated to Fort Edward, on the Hudson.

This triumphant opening filled the British with exultation, while it struck dismay into their opponents. The former, however, soon encountered great and unforeseen obstacles. The country, wholly intersected with creeks and marshes, required a constant alternation of land and water conveyance, which the enemy rendered more

* Howe's Narrative, p. 11.

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difficult by felling large trees and laying them across the paths. It was necessary to construct forty bridges, one of them two miles in extent, while the bateaux had to be dragged from creek to creek by ten or twelve oxen. The interval between 30th July and 15th August was thus spent in an advance of only eighteen miles.* The inhabitants, composed of that rude border race already alluded to, were animated with a strong spirit of independence, and eminently fitted for desultory warfare. The "Green mountain boys," who roamed and hunted over that lofty branch of the Alleghany, poured down in large bodies, and with rifles all but unerring, proved as formidable in this wild region as the best trained regulars.† The Indians did not yield services equal to the odium which their employment excited. The Americans, indeed, had little cause for reproach on this ground, having themselves made an attempt to engage them,—a measure urged even by Washington;‡ but from the aversion with which they were regarded by that race, they could not succeed. This, however, was lost sight of; and though Burgoyne used the utmost efforts to tame their savage spirit, it often broke out with violence. Two of them were employed to escort Miss Macrea, a young lady of great personal beauty, to the camp, where she was to be married to an officer. On the way they quarrelled about the expected reward; when one of them, roused to fury, and resolved at all events to disappoint his rival, struck her dead with his tomahawk. This tragical event had no actual connexion with the war, and might have happened amid profound peace; yet it excited a strong sensation throughout the region, wholly to the disadvantage of the British cause.

Burgoyne being now hard pressed for provisions and

* Burgoyne's Narrative, pp. xxxix, 12. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 521-524.

† Paulding's Life of Washington, vol. i. p. 233. Parl. Register, vol. xi. p. 480.

‡ Washington's Letters, vol. i. p. 182-213.

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means of transport, and learning that there was a large supply at Bennington in Vermont, sent thither Colonel Baum, with 600 Germans. The independents, however, mustered in unexpected numbers, and were reinforced by General Starke, who was leading a corps from New Hampshire to aid the northern army. Baum, overpowered by numbers, was mortally wounded, and his party totally dispersed. As he had given notice of the threatened resistance, Colonel Breyman, with 500 men, was sent to his aid; but did not arrive till all was over. He was himself briskly attacked; and though at first he maintained his ground, was at length obliged to retreat with the loss of two cannon. News came also of the fate of another expedition of 1000 men under Colonel St Leger, destined to cross Lake Ontario, capture Fort Stanwix, and, ascending the Mohawk, reinforce the principal corps. Here again the error of divided movements and proposed meeting from distant quarters had been repeated. That officer found the place more strongly defended than he expected; the Indians, who composed nearly half his force, were seized with a panic; and he was obliged to fall back, abandoning even his stores.*

Burgoyne now felt the difficulties of his situation daily thickening around him. Gates, a distinguished leader, had been sent to take the command of the Americans, bringing a body of regulars, who, with the numerous volunteers and militia, now formed an army of 13,000 men, with habits eminently fitted for this desultory warfare. Considerations purely military would have dictated a return into Canada, while yet possible; but the English general had to consider the dishonour of the British arms by a retreat before this undisciplined foe; the strict injunctions laid upon him to advance on Albany, where he was taught to expect that Howe would be waiting for his junction, while otherwise Gates might wheel round, and augment the force acting against that commander. He had therefore strong motives for his

* Burgoyne, pp. xlii, 19. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 526-528.

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determination to advance at whatever cost. It was necessary, however, to give up his communication with Ticonderago and the lakes, having no force adequate to maintain the necessary chain of posts. Resolving to push forward and cut his way through the enemy's troops to Albany, he led his army briskly, in several columns, along the roads leading thither, disposing them so as to cover his artillery and baggage. The enemy determined upon resisting this movement by a general attack. They commenced it at Stillwater, about noon of the 19th September, and maintained the contest very obstinately till dusk, when they were driven back within their lines. The energy, however, with which they had maintained their ground, and the loss of 600 men sustained by the already reduced British force, gave it the character of a triumph; while it heightened the gloom which surrounded Burgoyne, who now determined to pause, and fortify himself in his present position. On the 3d October, 1500 men, sent out to forage and reconnoitre, rashly advanced within half a mile of the enemy's intrenchments, when the daring Arnold instantly sallied out, attacked and drove them back to their camp. The whole American army then followed and commenced a most furious assault on the lines. From the British quarter they were completely repulsed; but the German intrenchments were carried, 200 prisoners taken, and Breyman with several leading officers killed or wounded. After this disaster it was judged necessary to fall back upon Saratoga.*

As already noticed, Burgoyne had been impelled forward by the belief that Howe with his whole army was waiting for him on the Hudson, and probably at Albany; and having been strangely kept ignorant of that commander's total change of destination, while his attempts at communication were interrupted by the enemy and a hostile country, he remained still in the dark on this subject.

* Burgoyne, pp. xl, 24, 86-88, 90, 91. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 530-533.

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A letter from him, however, reached New York, where Clinton had been left with a force barely sufficient to maintain that position, and without any instructions to co-operate with Burgoyne; so that the intelligence from that general, though so fully to be expected, seems to have fallen upon him like a thunderbolt. Being an energetic and active officer, he assembled 3000 men, and began a brisk movement up the Hudson. The forts of Clinton and Montgomery, which, on opposite banks, defended the navigation, were carried in gallant style, sixty-seven cannon taken, two frigates and two galleys burned. Tryon destroyed barracks fitted to accommodate 1500 men; and Vaughan incurred reproach by reducing to ashes the town of Esopus, on the insufficient plea that the troops had been fired at from the houses, and that "it was a nursery for almost every villain (malecontent) in the country." Though Gates observed these movements, he wisely forbore to weaken his army by detachments against this corps, which failed in every attempt even to open a communication with the northern army.*

Burgoyne now felt that his affairs had reached a fatal crisis. The enemy held and strongly guarded all the posts in the rear, and had destroyed the flotilla on Lake George; while in front they had an army double his own in number, and in such warfare not much less efficient. An attempted movement in either direction must therefore be followed by a series of incessant and harassing attacks, destroying his army in detail. A council of war was called, and the conclusion formed, that no option was left but the deeply afflicting one of opening a negotiation for surrender. Gates' first demand was, that the whole force should ground their arms and become prisoners of war; but the general, with all his officers, agreed in the determination to brave every extremity rather than submit to such terms. Gates, a prudent man, feeling the importance of time, agreed, after some discussion, to grant the honours of

* Documents in Remembrancer, vol. iv. p. 423-427.

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war, and a free passage to Britain, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the present contest. These conditions, so far as related to him, were honourably, and even courteously, fulfilled; but congress, whose feelings of honour were less keen than their patriotic zeal, eagerly sought a pretext for evading the contract to convey the troops to Britain. The general warned them, that none could be found in their own observance of the convention, which had been strictly honourable. Burgoyne, however, when complaining of the treatment which his men experienced at Boston, used the rash expression, that he considered the convention as thereby violated; whence they inferred, that on returning home, he would represent his government as absolved from the engagement against their serving in America. They demanded lists of the men's names, which seems not very unreasonable, but was considered by Burgoyne as an impeachment on British honour. In short, they determined not to fulfil the convention,—a course which few even of their own advocates fully defend, and which Washington is said to have decidedly disapproved.*

This intelligence arrived in England November 1777, while parliament were sitting; and the effect may be easily conceived. The opposition, justifying the conduct of the commanders, threw the whole blame upon ministers. Chatham declared the expedition a most wild, uncombined, mad project; and Fox said that 10,000 men had been destroyed by the wilful ignorance and incapacity of Lord Germaine. Ministers, on the other hand, contended that every thing depending upon them had been done; large armies had been sent, and most amply supplied; and, before being condemned, they were entitled at least to a full inquiry. Lord North protested, as on former occasions, his willingness to lay down office if he could thereby hope to restore peace; but

* Burgoyne, pp. 93, 105, 106; Append. p. 16. Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 535; vol. iii. pp. 98, 99. Remembrancer, vol. v. pp. 62, 133, 145.

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seeing no prospect of this, he considered himself bound to remain at the helm. Lord Chatham had moved for a cessation of hostilities, which was negatived; but committees were named in each house for an inquiry into the state of the nation, the result of which was to be taken into consideration in the beginning of February 1778. Ministers proposed and carried, though with considerable opposition, an adjournment till the 20th January. The warlike spirit of the nation had been gradually subsiding in consequence of the lengthened contest, and the little prospect of any decisive success; so that the first accounts of Burgoyne's catastrophe produced deep despondence, and a general call for peace. In the course of the recess, however, a very decided reaction took place, excited mainly, we imagine, by the prevailing belief, that France was about to join America; for David Hartley warned his friend Dr Franklin, that the English would "fight for a straw with their last shilling and their last man," rather than be dictated to by that power. Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, came forward to supply regiments; six battalions were raised in the Scottish Highlands; eleven companies in Wales. The voluntary levies thus effected before the meeting of parliament, amounted to 15,000 men. The opposition exclaimed against this raising of troops without consent or knowledge of parliament; but ministers had little dread of this charge, and boasted of the result as decisively expressing the national opinion in their favour. Mr Fox and the Duke of Richmond made motions that no troops should be sent out of the kingdom, which were negatived, but not by the usual large majorities; the former only by 259 to 165; the last by 91 to 34.*

Soon after the meeting of parliament, however, Lord North brought forward a most extensive scheme of conciliation, embracing indeed every demand which had originally been made by the colonists. The right of taxation with-

* Parl. Register, vol. viii. pp. 96, 159, 258, 265, 337; vol. x. pp. 74, 169, 184. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 19-40. Hartley in Sparks' Diplom. Corresp., vol. iii. p. 261.

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out their own consent was to be renounced; the violated constitutions were to be restored; every act since 1763 was to be abrogated, excepting such as were manifestly beneficial to the colonies. The intentions of ministers had, he said, been misunderstood; these were the measures they had waited to announce in a hoped-for moment of decisive success, but having been disappointed, there seemed no longer any room for delay. This proposal met with no serious opposition, though among the supporters of the war there were considerable murmurs at the renunciation of all its objects; while among its opponents, a serious schism was soon perceptible. A part, including Governor Pownall, maintained that every attempt to bring America again under subjection was now chimerical; they were and must be an independent sovereign people; our true policy was to treat with them as such, and endeavour to form a close federal and commercial alliance, which might snatch them out of the arms of France, and gain for ourselves great advantages. Mr Hartley, General Conway, and the Duke of Richmond, leaned to the same opinion. But the lofty mind of Chatham listened with the deepest indignation to the mention of severing from Britain that mighty empire, which he had been the instrument of so widely extending. On the 7th April, he appeared in the House of Lords, rejoicing that, though with more than one foot in the grave, he had been able to rise from bed, and to bear testimony against it. "I rejoice," said he, "that the grave has not closed on me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. Shall this great kingdom, that has survived the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest; that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon?" If peace could not be preserved with honour, why was not war commenced without hesitation! He did not know what were the means of carrying it on; but any state was better than despair. "Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall

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like men." In the course of the debate, this great statesman was seized with a paroxysm of illness, which, in a few weeks, terminated his life and his splendid political career. Lord Shelburne also declared, that the moment Britain acknowledged the independence of America, her sun was set. There is little doubt, that the opposite course would even before this have been the wisest; yet it was one for which the nation in general was by no means prepared.*

We must now look to the continent of Europe, where measures of the deepest importance had been secretly in agitation. Congress for some time made a boast of rigorously abstaining from any attempt to seek support by foreign alliances, when they might have done so with every prospect of success. France and Spain, it was well known, deeply humbled by the result of the war ended in 1763, and the extensive territories then wrested from them, were anxiously watching an opportunity to retrieve and avenge these losses. The latter power, indeed, might dread lest the same spirit should spread to her own settlements; but France upon this head had much less to fear. In the spring of 1776, all the leading men in the colonies, having fixed their minds upon independence, became disposed to avail themselves of the advantages of foreign treaties. Franklin indeed states, as his first opinion, that America, "as a virgin state, should not go about suitoring alliances," but rather wait till she was courted; but he was overruled, and ultimately became the most active agent. On the 29th November 1775, a committee had been appointed to open a correspondence with the friends of America in Europe. The first person employed was Silas Deane, a member of congress, who was instructed to visit Europe in the character of a merchant, and endeavour to open private channels, by which the cabinets might aid America without openly committing themselves. He arrived about the 1st July 1776, and found the French court

* Parl. Register, vol. viii. p. 380-382; vol. ix. p. 56-60; vol. x. pp. 12, 369, 378. Adolphus, vol. iii. pp. 45-51, 87, 88, 90.

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well disposed to favour his views. Turgot, a minister friendly to peace, had been replaced by Vergennes, who eagerly aspired to regain for France the ground lost in the late contest. A great dread, however, being felt lest the power and perseverance of America should fail, and France be left alone to maintain an unequal contest, the minister intimated, that aid could not be openly given, but that no obstruction would be opposed to the shipment of warlike stores and supplies; if any occurred, it need only be stated, to be speedily removed. In fact, Mr Deane was informed that arrangements had already been made for transmitting by a circuitous route a liberal supply. Beaumarchais, a Frenchman, had gone to London and sought out Arthur Lee, the secret agent of congress, whom he informed that the court of France had resolved to assist the colonies with military stores to the value of £200,000. They were not, however, to come direct from that high source, but from himself, under the fictitious firm of Roderique, Hortales, and Company, to be ostensibly established at Port St François in St Domingo, whence the great bulk of the articles were to be furnished. Mr Lee fully understood them to be delivered out of the French magazines, and that only a slight and formal return was expected. By this underhand channel, 25,000 muskets and other supplies were in the beginning of 1777 received in America, and were of the utmost use to Washington in the equipment of the new army which he was then levying. In the end of that year, however, congress were much surprised by the demand from an agent of Beaumarchais of payment for all the stores thus furnished. Several letters explaining the transaction had been intercepted; and the mystery in which the whole was involved rendered it impossible for them to give an absolute refusal. Their commissioners, however, were instructed to seek in the most delicate manner an explanation from the French ministers, intimating their belief that they had been indebted to his majesty alone for these valuable supplies. That court, however, on being repeatedly pressed by the Bri-

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tish ambassador upon this subject, had not scrupled to deny having afforded any aid whatever to the colonies; so that a breach of its honour, that is, an exposure of its deceit, was apprehended, in now making the statement. The minister therefore replied, that Beaumarchais had merely received these stores from his majesty's arsenals as a personal accommodation, and on condition of replacing them; gravely adding, that he knew nothing of such a house as Roderique, Hortales, and Company. Some time after, a controversy having arisen with Mr Deane, Thomas Paine, then secretary of the committee for foreign affairs, published a pamphlet, broadly stating that the stores had been supplied by the French government as a gift, and with an express intimation that no payment was expected. Hereupon Gerard, the French ambassador, presented two memorials to congress, calling upon them for an explicit disavowal of these assertions. That body, according to Mr Pitkin, could not possibly at this time quarrel with France on any ground, and therefore put forth the declaration demanded, though having, he admits, the strongest ground for believing it untrue. Paine, for his indiscretion, was obliged to resign his office; and it became impossible to escape from the engagement to pay in the course of three years the demands of Beaumarchais. Congress still hoped that the French ministry would in some way interpose to avert this burdensome obligation; but they were disappointed; and through this chain of circumstances, so little creditable to all parties, they were under the hard necessity of paying a profligate adventurer for supplies which had in fact been freely furnished to them out of the French magazines. He even intercepted one of three millions of livres covertly presented to them by their ally; but before the final settlement, they learned this fraud, and deducted it from the payment.*

As soon as the declaration of independence had been fully matured, congress applied itself openly and with

* Pitkin, vol. i. pp. 386-388, 403-405, 415-418, 422. Diplom. Corresp., vol. ii. pp. 14-18, 57, 235.

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increased vigour to the object of foreign alliances. On the 11th June, a committee was appointed to prepare a plan, which was not however matured and approved till the 17th September, when Dr Franklin, Mr Deane, and Mr Lee were appointed commissioners to proceed to France. The former, from his weight of character, sound judgment, and address, had almost the entire direction. On reaching Paris, however, in December 1776, he found the cabinet by no means prepared openly to espouse the cause of the States, or even to acknowledge their independence. Friendly professions were made, and a continuance of private succours promised; but there was an evident determination against proceeding farther till it should appear whether they could resist the shock of the British armies, the pressure of which was then so severe. The disasters of the campaign increased the anxiety of congress upon the subject. They sent commissioners to the courts of Vienna, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany; and in order to induce France to declare openly in their favour, offered large privileges for commerce and fishery, and even the possession of such West India islands as might be captured during the war. But the same distresses which impelled to these overtures, made the court cautious of accepting them, and continue to watch the train of events. The campaign of 1777, notwithstanding its misfortunes, was considered to afford prospects of making a permanent stand; but the French counsels evidently vacillated with every intelligence and even report which arrived from America. No change took place till the arrival, early in December, of the momentous tidings of Burgoyne's surrender, which at once gave a decisive turn to the views of the cabinet. On the 16th, M. Gerard intimated to the commissioners that, after long deliberation, the king had determined to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and also to afford them support, though thereby involving himself in an expensive war. It was frankly admitted that he thus acted, not merely from a friendly disposition towards them, but for the promotion of his

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own political interests. On the 8th January 1778, Louis wrote a letter to his uncle, the king of Spain, referring to Britain as their common and inveterate enemy. During the pending contest, he had afforded to the colonies supplies of money and stores, at which England had taken deep umbrage, and would no doubt seize the first opportunity of avenging herself. The Americans had indeed shown that they were not to be subdued, but Britain might succeed in her present attempts to form a close and friendly alliance with them, and thus turn her arms undivided against her continental enemies; now, therefore, was the time to form such a connexion as might prevent any reunion between them and the mother-country.

In pursuance of these views, there was concluded, on the 6th February, a treaty of commerce, accompanied by one of defensive alliance in the well-foreseen case of war being the result. The allies were to make common cause with the States, and to maintain their absolute independence. Whatever conquests should be made on the continent were to be secured to them, but those in the West Indies to the crown of France. Adams expresses extraordinary exultation at this arrangement, anticipating not only assured success to America, but the entire humiliation of Britain, which he compares to a wide-spreading tree girdled at the root. Her wealth had been lost with her colonies, and could never be regained; her fleet could no longer cope with that of France. By yielding now, she might retain the rank of a second-rate power; otherwise she must be crushed into total insignificance. Many months, however, had not elapsed till he was obliged to own that these expectations had been fallacious, and to behold the unaided resources of the mother-country equal to the combined hostility of Europe and America.*

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* Pitkin, vol. i. pp. 389-392, 398-400. Diplom. Corresp., vol. iii. pp. 6, 9, 10; vol. iv. pp. 262, 293, 315, 405.

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CHAPTER II.

Revolution, from the Alliance with France to the Peace in 1783.

War between Britain and France—Distresses of Washington—British Commissioners to treat for Peace—Their Reception—Evacuation of Philadelphia—Repulse of the Americans—French Naval Operations—Advantages gained by the British—Indian War in the West—Plans of Campaign—Distress of the Americans—Spain joins their Cause—Various Naval and Military Operations—Defeat of Lincoln—Siege of Savannah—Raised—Siege of Charleston—Surrender—British overrun the Carolinas—Defeat of Gates, and Death of Ferguson—Return of Cornwallis—Greene succeeds to the Command—Battle of Cowpens—Retreat of the Americans—They return—Battle of Guildford—Cornwallis retires to Wilmington—Greene invades South Carolina—Cornwallis marches into Virginia—Battle of Camden—Successes of the American Parties—Repulsed at Ninety-six—Rawdon falls back—Battle of Eutaw—Causes of British Failure—Operations near New York—Expedition sent from France—Adventures of Arnold—His Ill-treatment—Treacherous Desertion—Death of André—Financial Difficulties of Congress—Junction of French and American Armies—Successes of Cornwallis in Virginia—Washington marches thither—Naval Operations in the Chesapeake—Plans of Clinton and Cornwallis—The latter besieged in York—Surrender—Clinton's Attempts to relieve him—War with Holland—Change of the British Ministry—Ambassadors meet at Paris—Discussions—Treaty with America—With France and Spain.

The treaty between France and America, though soon generally known, was for some time studiously concealed from the British minister. On the 13th March, how-

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ever, the French ambassador at London delivered a note referring to the United States as already in full possession of independence, whence his majesty had concluded with them a treaty of friendship and commerce, and would take effectual measures to prevent its interruption. Professions were made of the king's anxiety to cultivate a good understanding with Britain and his sincere disposition for peace, of which it was ironically said that new proofs would be found in this communication. On the 17th, this document was laid before Parliament, with a message from the crown, stating that the British ambassador had in consequence been ordered to withdraw from Paris, and expressing trust in the zealous and affectionate support of the people for repelling this unprovoked aggression combined with insult. An address echoing the message was moved in both houses; but the opposition reproached ministers with not having duly foreseen or prepared for this emergency; while a few repelled as now hopeless the idea of holding America under any kind of dependence. It was carried, however, by majorities, in the Commons of 263 to 113; in the Lords of 68 to 25. The message for calling out the militia was sanctioned without a division.*

In Pennsylvania, meantime, the two armies continued viewing each other without any material warlike movement. The distress suffered by Washington at Valleyforge was extreme, congress taking no efficient measures to supply the troops with clothes or even provisions. That body indeed showed a decided jealousy of the army, and by ill treatment did its utmost to render their suspicions well founded. The officers had to complain, not only of irregularity in receiving their pay, but of obtaining no promise of half-pay at the end of the war; this last, however, through the remonstrances of Washington, was at length secured. That great man was farther harassed by a combination formed against himself and shared by Gates, whose friends contrasted his brilliant success

* Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 64-69.

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against Burgoyne with the tardy and in many cases unsuccessful movements of the commander-in-chief. Their representations made for some time a considerable impression upon congress and even the public; but as the commander took no notice of this movement, and pursued the even and dignified tenor of his way, the cloud dispelled of itself. Although his force in spring was reduced very low, Howe did not venture to attack, but, according to the representations formerly made, considered himself strong enough only for partial and detached expeditions, several of which were undertaken with success. Not being, however, supplied with reinforcements sufficient for any important enterprise, he felt his situation painful, and solicited his recall. Ministers, who probably hoped that a more enterprising commander might achieve some decisive successes, granted it, and named Clinton his successor. His officers, however, manifested their opinion of his merits by a brilliant fête on the occasion of his departure.*

In June, the commissioners arrived with the new offers of conciliation. They consisted of Governor Johnstone, Lord Carlisle, and Mr Eden, gentlemen who had hitherto advocated against ministers the cause of America. The terms were more than had been originally asked, amounting in fact to every degree of independence compatible with a union of force against foreign powers, all alliance with whom was expected to be renounced. Smaller concessions would once have saved the colonies; but congress and the leading men had now taken a position whence they felt wholly disinclined to recede. Their minds, in the course of the war, had become more and more imbittered against the mother-country, and open to the pride of independent national existence and of alliance with the great powers of Europe. They could not but doubt whether terms, so hardly wrung from an extreme necessity, would, in changed circumstances, be executed in their full extent; while they themselves

* Sparks, vol. i. p. 267-282. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 96-104.

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would always be viewed as hostile, and removed as much as possible from power. They do not seem to have ever deliberated, merely appointing a committee to prepare an answer. Its tenor was, that notwithstanding all their wrongs, they were willing to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce, provided Britain should begin by an explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or by withdrawing her fleets and armies. Indignation was expressed at the manner in which their great and good ally, the King of France, was mentioned, and a full determination intimated of adhering to the connexion. The commissioners wrote an explanatory paper, endeavouring to prove that every object of real importance was included in their offers; but as no new concession was made, it was determined to return no answer. Governor Johnstone had written letters to several members of congress, in which, besides public motives, private advantages were held out in case of their aiding the cause of reconciliation. The receivers laid them before congress, who immediately published them, with indignant comments, as attempts to gain the object by bribery.*

The commissioners, thus vehemently repulsed by congress, determined to appeal to the particular states and to the nation at large. A manifesto and proclamation were drawn up, fully explaining all the advantages now offered, including the removal of every grievance hitherto complained of; reminding the people that to these overtures congress had refused even to listen, and asking if they were prepared to carry on a ruinous war, with no object but to throw themselves into the arms of a foreign power, so long their inveterate enemy. It was injudiciously added, that in such case warlike measures would be carried on with increased severity, so that if the country was to belong to France, its value might be diminished. Congress, it is admitted, were considerably alarmed at the appearance of this paper, and the activity

* Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 104-110. Sparks, vol. i. p. 285-288. Marshall, vol. iv. p. 3-12

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with which it was circulated. Some of its ablest members employed their pens in answering it, and seeking to inspire the most hostile feelings towards the British government. Finding it impossible by the severest penalties to stop the circulation, they made a boast of publishing it themselves, counteracted by ample comments. Marshall considers them as having succeeded; yet he afterwards admits, that a contrary opinion was "not unsupported by circumstances." In fact, it appears, both from his and other narratives, that a complete apathy from this time pervaded the great body of the American people. Other causes, no doubt, contributed; yet these were probably much aided by the consciousness of their having no longer any substantial interest to fight for.*

It had been arranged that Clinton's first operation should be to evacuate Philadelphia. Its position was deemed disadvantageous, being so far inland, at the head of a long and intricate bay, liable to be commanded by those large fleets which France was expected to send. On the 18th June, the British commander began his march, rendered very difficult by a great quantity of baggage and various encumbrances, whence his line extended nearly twelve miles. The Americans had destroyed the bridges, and made arrangements for intercepting his progress; but these he evaded by a judicious change of route. Washington now consulted his general officers as to the best mode of taking advantage of the enemy's circumstances. Lee and several others advised to avoid a general battle, but to harass him by detachments thrown upon his flanks and rear. The general, having formed an opposite determination, sent forward 5000 or 6000 men to commence the attack, while he remained a few miles behind, ready to support them. Unluckily Lee, by his seniority, was entitled to command this advanced guard; while Clinton, who had his best troops in the rear, suddenly wheeled round, and attacked the Americans, who began a hasty retreat with

* Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 111. Marshall, vol. iv. pp. 15-19, 59.

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the alleged concurrence of their leader. When Washington met them thus falling back, he bitterly reproached Lee, calling upon him to rally and lead back his troops. This was partially effected, and when the rest of the force was brought up, and General Greene had placed himself on the left flank of the British, they became exposed to a severe cross-fire, and were unable to make any farther impression. The contest was closed by night, of which Clinton took advantage to continue his retreat, and in two days reached Sandy Hook, where he embarked without molestation. After the battle, some imbittered correspondence passed between Washington and Lee, who was thereupon brought before a court-martial, charged with having made a disorderly retreat, and shown disrespect to his commander. He was found guilty, and suspended from all command for a year, and in fact never again joined the army. His temper was capricious and violent; yet Washington's warmth of feeling seems to have transported him too far, in making no allowance for these faults, on account of such signal merits and former services.*

No sooner had France openly declared in favour of the States, than she fitted out and sent to their aid a fleet of 12 sail of the line, under Count D'Estaing; while Britain despatched Commodore Byron with one of equal strength. Both were delayed by contrary winds, and though the French admiral arrived first, he did not reach the Chesapeake till the British fleet and army had passed on the way to New York. Thither he followed, and reconnoitred the entrance of the harbour; but Lord Howe, though with only half his force, made such judicious dispositions, that D'Estaing judged it imprudent to attack. He was next invited to assist in operations against Rhode Island, still held by a considerable English force. General Sullivan, on the land-side, was reinforced by New England militia, and by a detachment from the main army, under Lafayette, making in all 10,000 men. Howe hesitated

* Sparks, vol. i. p. 293-301. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 114, &c.

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not to approach; but a violent storm prevented the fleets from engaging, and allowed only a few conflicts between single ships, in which the British had the advantage. D'Estaing complained, that his squadron was thus so severely shattered, as rendered it necessary to go and refit at Boston; which he did, without regard to the warmest remonstrances from Greene and Lafayette. Sullivan was thus left in a critical situation; a force came hastily from New York, sufficient to overwhelm him, and he was considered to have great merit in effecting a precipitate retreat, with only the dispersion of a part of his army. Byron soon after arrived, and reinforced Howe, when both fleets were placed under Admiral Gambier; and the English became completely superior at sea. The American press raised loud murmurs at the inefficient support afforded by their powerful ally, from whom so much had been expected. This was an additional trouble to Washington, who dreaded umbrage between the two nations, and made studied apologies to the French officers for the rash language of his countrymen.*

He did not attempt any farther offensive movements this campaign; and Clinton took occasion to attack some of the principal privateering stations. On Acusknet River, in Buzzard's Bay, General Grey destroyed seventy sail of ships, and numerous storehouses; and from the island named Martha's Vineyard a large supply of sheep and cattle was drawn. At a noted rendezvous, however, named Egg Point, the success was imperfect, a great part of the shipping having escaped. On these occasions, plunder and outrage seem to have been practised to an unjustifiable extent against known privateers; though they are greatly exaggerated by the American writers, whose assertions, that they roused in the people a vehement spirit of resistance, are completely refuted by subsequent statements. The Americans, through the report of the French alliance, had obtained the evacuation of Phila-

* Sparks, vol. i. p. 301-304. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 117-119.

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delphia; but in every other respect their hopes of this campaign had been miserably disappointed. Their pride, however, was gratified by the arrival at Philadelphia of the French ambassador, Gerard, a highly respected individual, by whose agency chiefly the treaty had been concluded.*

In the course of this summer, the western country had been the scene of most distressing events; the feuds between the independents and loyalists having raged with peculiar violence in this wild region. The latter complained, probably not without reason, that the rigorous laws enacted against them were enforced with severe aggravations, and many sought an asylum beyond the limits of the colonies. There they found themselves among the Indians, a race always bitterly hostile to the white borderers, and easily excited to the most daring enterprises. Unhappily the passions of the refugees were worked up to such violence, that instead of urging a milder mode of warfare, they stimulated these allies to deeds of more than their wonted barbarity. Wyoming, a flourishing settlement on the Pennsylvanian frontier, was suddenly assailed, the slender militia force which defended it overpowered, and the inhabitants exposed to all the horrors of Indian vengeance and massacre. From the lateness of the season, only a few partial attempts could be made to retaliate. Next spring, however, General Sullivan was despatched with 4000 men, and joined by General Clinton with another division from the Mohawk River. They entered the territory of the Indians, who, quite unable to resist so large a force, abandoned their homes and fled before them. The villages were then reduced to ashes, every trace of cultivation obliterated, and the region rendered as much as possible uninhabitable. This rigour is said to have been authorized by Washington, and justified on the ground, that without interposing a desert between the

* Adolphus, vol. iii. pp. 119, 120. Sparks, vol. i. p. 301.

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States and this savage race, no security could be enjoyed on the frontier.*

The attention of congress and of the commander was now called to plans for the campaign of 1779. The former, looking to their previous successes, and the powerful co-operation of France, cherished the most brilliant expectations, and had formed schemes truly magnificent. Concluding that the English would be speedily expelled, or would of their own accord depart from America, the chief object was to be the invasion of Canada, from three different points, the French being invited to co-operate. Washington, on learning this vast design, took the utmost pains to prove its futility. He disclosed to them the painful truths, that the English were still so powerful both by land and sea, as to afford no speedy prospect of their complete expulsion; while the exhausted state of the finances, the imperfect organization of the army, and the extreme destitution under which it laboured, furnished no means whatever for carrying on such mighty operations. A committee of congress, on further consideration, recommended that the project should be deferred; yet the members still clung to it, fondly contemplating its execution some time before the season closed, and wishing communications to be opened on that subject with the French court. The general, considering the project, even thus modified, as still quite inadmissible, repaired to Philadelphia, where he urged strongly all his former arguments, and confidentially pointed out to the leading statesmen the danger of admitting France into a country where she had so long ruled, and whose people bore still decided traces of her relationship. It appears, indeed, that, probably from the dread of embarrassment in some future negotiation, that power by no means favoured schemes of American conquest. Washington at last succeeded in convincing congress, that instead of these grand measures of invasion,

* Marshall, vol. iv. pp. 22-28, 92, 104. Sparks, vol. i. pp. 320, 321.

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they must limit themselves, during the present campaign, to a course strictly defensive.*

In fact, both the civil and military strength of the Union was now at a lower ebb than at any time since the struggle commenced. The members of congress had originally consisted of the ablest men in America, animated by the most ardent zeal, and implicitly obeyed by all the votaries of their cause. After the declaration of independence, however, a new modification of the government was considered necessary. A constitution was drawn up, and, after many delays and difficulties, brought into operation, early in 1779, under which the state legislatures were invested with all the most important powers, resigning only a few which were judged indispensable for united action. Congress still retained the direction of foreign affairs, of the war, and consequently of the naval and military force; but to furnish men and supplies for these services they had no resource, except requisitions addressed to the state legislatures. The latter had the complete option whether they should or should not comply, and had many motives which strongly inclined them to the latter alternative; indeed compliance could only be afforded by measures very unpopular, and which would have much disobliged their constituents. The demands of congress were thus only partially and unequally fulfilled, and the levies never approached the amount at which they were nominally fixed.†

The financial state of the country, too, was embarrassing in the extreme. The colonists, at the beginning of the war, had been very little accustomed to any serious taxation; and having taken arms expressly to resist it, would have ill brooked paying a larger amount for their expenses than Britain had ever demanded. It was not till November 1777, that congress ventured to make a requisition of five millions of dollars annually, to which the states but faintly responded.

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 37-48. Sparks, vol. i. p. 311-314.
† Pitkin, vol. ii. pp. 12, 28, 32.

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France and Spain gave some assistance, first in gift, and then in loan; but as their own finances grew embarrassed, these contributions became very stinted. The commissioners endeavoured to treat for loans with European capitalists, especially in Holland, and with this view drew a flattering picture of the future prosperity of the new republic, and her ultimate power to repay even the largest advances; but the Dutch were not inclined to be satisfied with such security, and money could be got only in small amount, and on exorbitant terms. One house made a somewhat liberal offer, but on condition of carrying on the whole trade of the Union, and holding all its real and personal property in mortgage. In these circumstances, the States had no resource except paper-money. In 1775, they issued three millions of dollars; and this moderate amount being easily absorbed in the circulation, proved an available resource. They were thus encouraged to pour forth repeated issues, which at the beginning of 1779 had risen to above a hundred millions, and in the course of the year to double that amount, which they had pledged themselves not to exceed. The necessary consequence was a depreciation of the notes to about a fortieth of their nominal value, and hence a miserable derangement in all mercantile and money transactions. The evil was aggravated, too, by preposterous remedies. The paper at its nominal value was made a legal tender for all debts; and by this iniquitous measure, which Washington deeply regretted, many creditors both public and private were defrauded, but no permanent relief could be afforded. As the articles furnished to the army, like all others, rose to an enormous nominal value, they were so ignorant as to fix a maximum, above which they should not be received. The consequence was, that at this inadequate rate none could be got; and the army would have perished had not this absurd regulation been rescinded.*

* Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 155-157. Sparks, vol. i. pp. 332, 333. Diplom. Corresp., vol. iii. pp. 15-23, 109, 110.

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About this time, too, it is admitted by the best American writers, that the composition of congress itself had been greatly deteriorated. Many of the ablest members had withdrawn to the state legislatures, whose influence under the new constitution was now paramount, and violent feuds had broken out among the remainder, especially those engaged in foreign negotiation, in whose councils a very factious spirit prevailed. The state was thus deprived of the services of able leaders; and the public dissensions disgusted and discouraged the friends of independence, while they rekindled the almost expiring hopes of its enemies.*

In Europe, however, a transaction took place highly auspicious to the American cause. Spain, after long hesitation, determined to join the confederacy, and on the 12th April 1779, concluded for that purpose a secret treaty with France. She had for some time offered and even pressed herself as a mediator, having ultimately proposed a congress of all the contending powers at Madrid, and during the negotiation, a general suspension of arms; but as it was made a condition that in the meantime the colonies were to remain actually independent, Britain, though without expressing any hostile feeling, declared such terms inadmissible. The other party, however, was not disposed to stop here. On the 16th June, D'Almadovar, the Spanish ambassador, took his departure, after delivering a note, complaining not only of the rejection of his sovereign's friendly overtures, but of sundry violences committed on his subjects in the course of the war, and for which he was determined to seek redress. This was followed by a long manifesto, in which grievances were enumerated to the number of eighty-six, and the necessity stated of reducing the British maritime power. These documents were soon answered by letters of marque, followed by open war. The American leaders felt extraordinary exultation, imagining that Britain would never be able to cope with a union

* Sparks, vol. i. p. 308-310.

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of so many powers. She roused herself, however, mightily to resist this new aggression: voluntary aids were poured in both by individuals and public bodies; and she showed herself able, not only to contend with the united navies of the Bourbons, but even to bring again into jeopardy the independence of her revolted colonies.*

Their interior strength, as already observed, by no means corresponded with the splendour of their foreign relations; and Washington had clearly demonstrated to congress the expediency of confining themselves to a defensive warfare. Clinton, on the other hand, did not attempt to penetrate far into the interior from New York; but engaged in some extensive expeditions for the destruction of stores and shipping. The most important was undertaken in May by a squadron under Sir George Collier, upon whom the command of the naval force had now devolved, and having on board 1800 men commanded by General Matthews. The object was the naval yard at Gosport on the Chesapeake, with the military stores and shipping at Portsmouth and Norfolk, the two chief seats of commerce in Virginia. The only defence was a fort with 150 men on Elizabeth river near Portsmouth; and this garrison, considering themselves too weak to resist, fled into a morass called the Dismal Swamp. The British took up their headquarters there; and in the course of a few days made a complete sweep of every thing that was to be found on this range of coast, destroying or taking 127 vessels, and other property valued at half a million sterling. Clinton, however, very judiciously did not divide his army by any permanent establishment.†

Immediately on their return to New York, the fleet and army were employed in an expedition on the Hudson. Kingsferry, about sixty miles up, and near the entrance of the highlands, formed the most convenient communication across the river for Washington's army,

* Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 162-175.
† Marshall, vol. iv. p. 86-90. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 186.

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whose wings occupied both banks. It was defended by two opposite forts, Stony Point and Verplank's Point, which were both attacked. The first being unfinished, was at once evacuated; and the garrison of the other, after a vain attempt at resistance, was obliged to surrender. Clinton caused the two places to be put in a state of defence; but operations were not pushed farther in this direction.

The next enterprise was against the coast of Connecticut, which had been a very extensive and successful theatre of privateering operations; and on the 3d July, 2600 men sailed under Sir George Collier and General Tryon, governor of New York. Newhaven was soon captured, the militia making a vain attempt to resist. There is stated to have been an intention to burn the town, which was laudably changed into the mere seizure of the stores and vessels. At Fairfield and Norwalk, a greater resistance was encountered; and both these places were nearly reduced to ashes. In apology it is said, that the people had fired from the windows, and that they placed an undue confidence in the safety of their property through British forbearance, which it was necessary to dispel; but these reasons are far from satisfactory. A proposed attack on New London was interrupted by a counter project of Washington, who was anxious to do something to efface the impression of so many losses. It being understood that the newly-captured forts on the Hudson were little apprehensive of any attack, General Wayne was sent with a detachment, and reached Stony Point undiscovered at midnight of the 15th July, when after a desperate but short struggle, he carried the place. The garrison, 543 in number, were made prisoners, and treated with great humanity. The opposite fort was also attempted, but without success; and the first, being then thought untenable, was demolished and abandoned; but Clinton reoccupied and repaired it.*

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 108-130. Remembrancer, vol. viii. p. 362-364.

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An expedition was also sent in June from Boston against a station on the river Penobscot, formed by a detachment under Colonel Maclean from Nova Scotia. Above 3000 militia, under General Lovell, effected a landing on the peninsular point occupied by the English; but the works appeared to him too strong to be carried without the aid of regular troops, which were promised by General Gates. Before their arrival, however, Sir George Collier appeared in the river with a squadron from New York, when Lovell re-embarked his troops, and formed with his ships a crescent across the river, making a show of resistance, till, seeing his adversary bearing up with superior force, he took to flight, and having no retreat, his fleet of six frigates and nine smaller vessels was entirely destroyed. The men escaped on shore, but had to penetrate through a long extent of desert, in which many perished. This blow was slightly compensated by the surprise of Powles Hook, a fort immediately opposite to New York. Being far within the British lines, the commander yielded to a culpable security, from which, about three in the morning of the 18th August, he was roused by Major Lee, who entered the place without resistance, and made 159 prisoners. Circumstances did not allow the captor to retain it, and he found some difficulty in retreating.*

More important military operations took place in the southern states, which had not hitherto become a theatre of war. Already, in the close of 1778, Clinton had despatched a force against Georgia, whose inhabitants were reported as favourable to the mother-country. Colonel Campbell, the commander, arrived at Savannah, the capital, about the end of December, and summoned the place. The Americans were commanded by a General Howe, whose force had been weakened by an unsuccessful expedition into Florida; nevertheless he drew it up in a strong position, covered by a swamp in front, and with the town in his rear. The British officer, how-

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 131-140. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 190.

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ever, received intelligence of a private path unknown to the enemy, and detached a column under Sir James Baird, which got unperceived into their rear. Being then attacked at once on all sides, they were completely routed, with the loss of their artillery, stores, and nearly 500 prisoners. They precipitately retreated into South Carolina, leaving all Lower Georgia in the hands of the invaders. The inhabitants were found extremely well disposed; and, being treated in a conciliatory manner, readily formed themselves into corps for the defence of the country. General Prevost then entered from Florida, and without difficulty reduced Sunbury, the only fortress still held by the adverse party. Having assumed the command of the forces from New York, he despatched Campbell to Augusta, capital of the upper territory, the reduction of which completed that of the state.

Congress, meantime, even before this landing, had planned the reduction of East Florida, and hence had recalled Howe, supplying his place by Lincoln, an officer of much higher reputation, who had been second under Gates against Burgoyne. He found every thing in the most unprepared state; and before being able to put any force in motion, learned the total defeat of his predecessor, and the conquest of Georgia. He could then aim only at covering South Carolina; and the river Savannah formed so strong a barrier, that the British general did not attempt to cross. Meantime, about 700 royalist refugees, whom the severities of their countrymen had driven to take shelter among the Indians, attempted to rejoin the king's forces. Being attacked, however, by Colonel Pickens with a body of militia, Colonel Boyd, their commander, was killed, and only 300 reached their destination. Several of the prisoners, by a very strained interpretation of the law of treason, were tried and put to death.

Lincoln, encouraged by this success, and being daily reinforced, caused General Ashe with 1400 men to cross the Savannah, and take post at its junction with Briar

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Creek, a stream unfordable for some miles up, and appearing completely to secure his front. It was thus hoped to exclude the English from Augusta and all the upper territories. Colonel Prevost, however, brother to the general, making a circuit of fifty miles, and crossing at fords fifteen miles above, came unexpectedly on the rear of this body, and totally routed them, the regular troops, after attempting resistance, being all either killed or taken. Notwithstanding this disaster, Lincoln, again reinforced, determined to proceed with his main body against Augusta. Prevost, instead of a long and harassing march in that direction, sought to recall him by a movement against Charleston; but intending only a feint, he proceeded with a leisure which he found reason to regret, as it appears had all practicable speed been employed, that capital would have fallen into his hands. The alarm, however, had been given, and such active preparations made, that he did not venture to attack, but distributed his troops in the neighbouring island of St John. Lincoln, who had hastened down, made an attempt to beat up his quarters, without success; and the midsummer heat causing a suspension of military operations, the British troops retired unmolested into Georgia.*

This state of affairs in the southern colonies called imperiously for the attention of congress, and Washington found it necessary to detach thither some part even of his reduced army. He solicited more powerful aid from D'Estaing, who then commanded in the West Indies an army sufficiently powerful to crush entirely the English in Georgia. The French admiral received this application just after having fought a hard battle against Commodore Byron without any decisive result, yet such as obliged the latter to go into port to refit. The former being thus for a time master of the sea, determined at once to comply with the request, took on board 6000

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 62-84. Adolphus, vol. iii. pp. 121, 180-183.

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land-troops, and steered direct for Savannah, where, arriving quite unexpectedly, he captured by surprise a fifty-gun ship and three frigates. Prevost, too, was very unprepared, having his force broken up into detachments distributed along the frontier; but these, being instantly ordered in, obeyed with such promptitude, that before the French had landed and formed a junction with Lincoln, nearly all had arrived. On the 16th September, D'Estaing appeared before the place and summoned it to surrender. Prevost, under pretext of negotiation, obtained a suspension for twenty-four hours, during which Colonel Maitland entered with the last and largest detachment, eluding the enemy by a route supposed impassable; and the full determination to resist was then announced. The allies, on reconnoitring the works, deemed it imprudent to attempt them by storm, and were obliged to wait a few days till the heavy ordnance and stores could be brought from the fleet. They broke ground on the 23d September; but the defence was conducted with great vigour and skill, under the direction of Major Moncrieff, a very able engineer; so that notwithstanding some progress made by the 1st October, an interval must still elapse before surrender could be expected. D'Estaing then refused to adventure his fleet longer on this insecure coast, in a tempestuous season, and while liable to attack from the British squadron refitted and reinforced; yet before departing, he offered to concur in an attempt to carry the place by storm. This was agreed to; and a hollow way being observed, by which troops could advance to within fifty yards of the wall, 4500 men, the flower of the combined army, undertook to penetrate it, while the rest amused the garrison by feigned attacks. This party pushed on with great vigour; they had even crossed the ditch, mounted the parapet, and planted their standards on the wall. Being here exposed, however, to a tremendous fire from works well constructed and completely manned, they soon gave way; Count Pulaski was killed, and a brisk attack by Major Glaziers drove the whole back into the

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hollow. They then renounced the attack, having sustained the severe loss of 700 French and 234 Americans killed and wounded; while that of the besieged was only fifty-five. The French admiral no longer paused in embarking his troops and sailing for the West Indies; thus a second time disappointing sanguine expectations, and leaving the American cause in a worse state than before.*

Clinton, on learning this success, determined finally to begin operations on a great scale in the southern states. Recent information showed them to be more defenceless, and the inhabitants better inclined to the dominion of the parent state, than those on the great northern theatre of war; while their reduction might facilitate that of the others, or at all events preserve for Britain an important portion of her American territory. He had recently obtained a reinforcement from home, and had withdrawn the force hitherto stationed with little advantage upon Rhode Island. On the 26th December 1779, leaving Knyphausen with troops sufficient to defend New York against the ill-organized army of Washington, he sailed with 5000 men for Savannah. The voyage was most tempestuous, and prolonged till the end of January; some of the vessels were wrecked, and nearly all the horses perished. He exerted himself actively to repair these losses; and by the middle of February had re-embarked and landed on St John's Island, near Charleston. Some time was spent in recruiting and reinforcing his troops and remounting his cavalry; while Lincoln was actively strengthening the garrison, and restoring the works which, since the memorable attack in May, had fallen into almost complete decay. He succeeded in assembling above 2000 regulars, 1000 militia, and a great body of armed citizens; but the chief hope, which was soon proved to be fallacious, rested on preventing the British from crossing the bar, as the fleet, under a favourable wind and

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 144-152. Gordon, vol. iii. p. 328.

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tide, passed with scarcely any opposition. Lincoln then seriously deliberated on evacuating the place and saving his army; but he dreaded popular reproach, and was buoyed up with promises of reinforcements that never arrived. On the 1st April, Clinton crossed the Ashley, which, with Cooper River, encloses the peninsula of Charleston, and broke ground before the city. On the 9th, the first parallel was completed, and the maritime blockade rendered very close; yet the garrison still communicated with the country by their cavalry at Monks' Corner, about thirty miles up Cooper River. Colonel Tarleton, by a circuitous route, came upon this body so unexpectedly, that though they held their horses bridled and saddled, they were attacked before they had time to mount, routed, and completely dispersed. The British soon after received a reinforcement of 3000; when Lincoln seriously proposed an attempt to extricate his army; but the principal inhabitants, entertaining a groundless dread of ill treatment from the captors, prevailed upon him only to offer a capitulation on condition of the garrison being still allowed to serve. This proposal was at once rejected; the siege was steadily pushed; all the outward posts successively fell; two detachments of cavalry which had rallied were by the active movements of Tarleton again dissipated; and the third parallel being completed, preparations were made for a general assault. Lincoln, then seeing his situation hopeless, submitted to the terms proffered by the victor, that all the military stores should be given up, the regular troops made prisoners of war, while the militia, on giving their parole, might return and remain unmolested at their homes. The prisoners taken were stated by Clinton at 5618, with 1000 seamen and 311 pieces of ordnance.*

There never was a triumph more complete, nor which seemed more to assure the reunion to Britain of at least

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 182-204. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 305-307. Remembrancer, vol. x. pp. 43, 50-52.

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a large portion of her revolted colonies. With very small exceptions, the whole military force stationed in the southern states, including all its means and implements of war, was at once captured. A great proportion of the inhabitants loudly testified their satisfaction, and the rest gave at least a silent acquiescence. There was scarcely a soldier in Georgia and South Carolina who was not either a prisoner or in arms for Britain. North Carolina was well known as a decided seat of royalism, and Clinton had secret assurances, as soon as he should reach that province, of powerful support. He now published a proclamation, promising to the people a renewal of all their former privileges, with the addition of not being taxed unless by their own consent. Soon after, he issued another, absolving the militia from their paroles, and calling upon them to join with other citizens in aiding the British cause. This step was much complained of, and apparently with reason, as involving some breach of faith; and the policy seems doubtful of not allowing the enemies of Britain to remain in a state of silent and passive submission.*

On the 5th June, Clinton set sail for New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis with 4000 men to secure, and if he could, extend his conquests. Detachments had already been sent up the principal rivers, Savannah, Saluda, and Santee. On the last only, a party of 400, under Colonel Burford, was rapidly retreating. Though ten days in advance, they were overtaken by the rapid march of Tarleton, and at Waxhaws completely routed and dispersed. The Americans accuse him of refusing quarter, a charge refuted by the statement in his own despatch, which could scarcely be falsified, that he carried off 53 prisoners and left 150 wounded on parole. The principal force was then advanced to Camden on the Wateree, near the frontier of North Carolina; but the intense heat, with the diffi-

* Remembrancer, vol. x. pp. 76, 80-83, 264. Marshall, vol. iv. p. 208-211.

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culty of provisioning the army till the corn was on the ground, rendered a delay necessary. The loyalists in that province were advised to remain quiet till a powerful support could be brought forward; but their ardent zeal could not be restrained, and broke out in several insurrections, which were suppressed and punished with a rigour tending to deter from similar attempts in future.*

Extreme alarm was felt by the American government on receiving intelligence of these events; and amid the greatest obstacles, it was necessary to make vigorous efforts to retrieve their affairs. Washington made arrangements for the march of the troops in Maryland and Delaware, and for calling out the militia of Virginia and North Carolina. He placed them under the Baron de Kalb, a veteran German officer; but congress soon after conferred the chief command on Gates, hoping that the conqueror of Burgoyne might again turn the tide of fortune. Notwithstanding the utmost despatch, the want of money, military stores, and provisions, detained him so long, that though the expedition set out in March, it was the beginning of August before he could approach Camden, with about 4000 men, mostly militia. He advanced in the determination to push vigorously offensive operations, hoping to induce Lord Rawdon to fall back upon Charleston. That officer, however, had given notice to Cornwallis, who hastened to the spot, and though the troops, from disease and other causes, had been reduced to little more than 2000, he resolved without hesitation to attack. He had set out in the night of the 15th, with a view to surprise the enemy, when, by a singular concurrence, he met Gates in full march with the same design against himself. The advanced guard of the latter was driven in, when both parties thought it advisable to postpone the general action till daylight. In the American line, Kalb, with most of the regulars, commanded on the right, while the militia of Carolina

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 208-213. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 311. Remembrancer, vol. x. p. 78.

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formed the centre, and that of Virginia the left. The conflict began with the last, who were attacked by the British infantry, under Colonel Webster, with such impetuosity, that they threw down their arms and precipitately fled. The whole of the left and centre were very speedily off the field, few having fired a shot, and still fewer carrying away a musket. Gates was borne along by the torrent, and after vain attempts to rally his men, gave up all for lost, and never stopped till he reached Charlotte, 80 miles distant. Meantime, Kalb, on the right, opposed to Lord Rawdon, long and firmly maintained his ground, gaining even some advantage; and it was not till the victorious divisions had wheeled round against him, that his corps was broken and dispersed. He himself, covered with wounds, became a captive, and, notwithstanding every care, expired in a few hours. About 1000 prisoners were taken, and the whole army was scattered. Gates seems manifestly to have erred in fighting a pitched battle with an army consisting chiefly of militia, and Tarleton particularly censures him for having composed of them so great a part of his regular line, instead of merely employing them to skirmish on his front and flanks; but, in fact, his veteran force seems to have scarcely sufficed for a duly extended order of battle.*

There was still some resistance to overcome. The malecontents in South Carolina, recovering from their first panic, had begun to rise at different points. The militia, complaining that the terms granted had not been duly observed, disregarded their own engagements, being even encouraged to violate them by a proclamation of Gates; so that a number, after joining the royal banner, went over to the enemy: one Colonel Lisle carried with him a whole battalion. Thus were assembled, under Colonel Sumpter, an active partisan, upwards of 600, raised by a detachment from the main army to about 1000. He

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 215-235. Tarleton, p. 105-110.

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was repulsed in attacks upon the stations called Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock; but, on the evening before the battle of Camden, succeeded in carrying a strong redoubt on the Wateree, taking above 100 prisoners. On learning the fatal issue of that day, he instantly began his retreat, and reached with such celerity the fords of the Catawba, that he considered himself safe, and allowed his men to repose during the heat of the day. But nothing could escape the indefatigable ardour of Tarleton, who had been sent in pursuit. His rapidity was such, that the greater part of his corps could not follow him from fatigue; but with 160 only he came up, and found the enemy completely unprepared, their videttes asleep, and the men lying apart from their arms. Roused from slumber by the attack of this daring little band, they scarcely attempted resistance; and after a short struggle, about half were captured, the others dispersed. They lost 150 killed and wounded, besides 310 prisoners; all their stores were taken, and the British captives recovered.

Cornwallis, having thus become master of a considerable number of prisoners, proceeded against them with rigour; several, who had joined the British militia and then deserted to the enemy, were executed as traitors. This measure is inveighed against by the Americans and their advocates with a good deal of inconsistency. Their government had early denounced the penalties of treason and death against all who should join the British standard; and this, in repeated instances, had been executed, without calling forth any disapprobation from their opponents. Such conduct was not to be imitated by the British commander; but there was here the gross aggravation of having entered the service, received arms and equipments, and gone immediately over with them to the enemy,—treachery which seems to admit of no palliation. The estates, too, of all those who joined the malecontents were confiscated,—an example early and uniformly set by congress; yet some

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abatement in its rigour might perhaps have been laudably and prudently made.*

After a few weeks' delay on account of the heat, the British general advanced to Charlotte Town, in North Carolina. Meantime, a corps of about 1600 loyal militia having been assembled, under Major Ferguson, an active partisan, he was directed to move westward, and clear the territory along the foot of the mountains. He was led farther in this direction by the movements of a hostile party which threatened Augusta, where he approached and roused into action a class whom we have already marked as terrible foes to the British cause. The borderers, who roved along the sides of the Alleghany, were if possible ruder and bolder than the boys of the Green Mountain. They rode on light fleet horses, carrying only their rifle, a blanket, and knapsack. Food was procured by the gun, or on its occasional failure, from a small herd of cattle driven behind them. At night, the earth was their bed, the sky their canopy. They thus moved with a swiftness which no ordinary troops could rival. Ferguson, having learned that about 3000 of these daring mountaineers had mustered against him, began a rapid retreat upon the main body; but being informed that 1600 of the fleetest and boldest had been formed into a select band in chase of him, and seeing the hopelessness of escaping their almost preternatural swiftness, he took post on King's Mountain, and awaited their attack. They came up on the 7th October, and began to ascend the mountain in three divisions. Ferguson charged the first, and drove it back with the bayonet; and wherever this weapon could be used, he was victorious; but the assailants clustered round on every side, and from beneath the covert of trees and steeps discharged their rifles with almost unerring aim. The British soon began to fall in great numbers, and when their commander

* Marshall, vol. iv. pp. 217, 222, 237-239. Tarleton, pp. 93, 98, 110-116. Adolphus, vol. iii. pp. 318, 319.

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himself received a mortal wound, the whole party were routed, 300 killed and wounded, the rest completely dispersed. In professed retaliation of Cornwallis' proceedings at Camden, ten of the principal captives were hanged on the spot; though no charge could be made against them of the treachery by which that step was justified on the part of his lordship. Particular reproach was incurred by the death of Colonel Mills, a most respectable veteran, whose conduct had always been distinguished by the highest honour.*

Cornwallis, meantime, had pushed on to Salisbury, approaching Virginia; and in expectation of his reaching that state, a reinforcement destined for him, under General Leslie, was ordered to enter the Chesapeake. Learning, however, this dreadful catastrophe, and fearing that so numerous a band might overrun and spread insurrection in South Carolina, he judged it necessary to fall back upon that colony; and Leslie was instructed to join by the circuitous route of Charleston. The alarm leading to this retrograde movement proved in a great measure unfounded. That tumultuary mass, roused by a local impulse, having accomplished their immediate object, could not be prevented from dispersing, and the partisan warfare was continued by only two small bodies. Marion, though holding together only from 50 to 200 men, severely harassed the British, keeping himself so well covered by woods and marshes, that even Tarleton could not hunt him down. Sumpter too, after being entirely routed by that officer, had again assembled a considerable corps of mounted militia, and threatened some important posts. His former enemy not being at hand, Major Wemyss was employed, and soon came up with him; but being early wounded, and his troops unskilled in this species of warfare, he suffered a severe repulse. It was then necessary to have recourse to Tarleton, and give him a considerable force. Using his accustomed despatch, he had nearly got in the rear of his

* Gordon, vol. iii. p. 462-468. Marshall, vol. iv. p. 381-383.

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adversary, who, as soon as he learned to whom he was opposed, hurried by rapid marches to the Tyger, whose rapid stream once passed, would secure his retreat. Tarleton, seeing that with his whole force he could not be in time to prevent this movement, adopted his former plan of pushing forward with 250 cavalry and mounted infantry. He found his opponent strongly posted on the bank of the river, and with his wonted promptitude rushed forward to the attack. The conflict, however, was obstinate and bloody, and he was finally obliged, with considerable loss, to fall back on his infantry. Sumpter then crossed the river; but his men had been so severely handled, that they lost courage and dispersed; so that his opponent reaped all the fruits of victory.*

Gates, meantime, used diligent exertions to collect and reorganize the remains of his defeated army; and congress, amid every difficulty, forwarded to him reinforcements. He incurred, however, the reproach to which the unfortunate are usually exposed, Washington being called upon to institute an inquiry into his conduct, and to nominate another commander. Having formerly rendered himself obnoxious to the general-in-chief, no objection was made, and Greene was named, with the assurance that a commander had been furnished, provided troops and means could be supplied. This announcement was amply fulfilled; yet Gates was considered hardly treated, especially as his first intimation was the arrival of his successor to take the command, who bore testimony that, on this trying occasion, he behaved in a handsome and honourable manner.†

When Greene arrived on the 2d December, the army had been raised to nearly 2000 men, of whom the larger number were regulars. Determining by some movements to support the cause in South Carolina, he detached Morgan, a very able partisan, to take post on the Broad River, and endeavour to cut off Cornwallis, then at Winnsborough, from the upper country. He had

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 384-390. Tarleton, p. 178.
† Marshall, vol. iv. pp. 392, 393. Gordon, vol. iii. p. 472.

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about 600 men, with the expectation of assembling more in the district. On learning this movement, Tarleton was immediately despatched with 1000 men to resist the inroad. The American at first abandoned his camp, and began a rapid retreat; but finding this difficult, and his forces being nearly equal, he resolved to await the attack at Cowpens, a spot three miles from the boundary of the Carolinas. Avoiding the fault of Gates, he disposed his militia in front, keeping in reserve a chosen body, on whom he could fully depend. On the 17th January, Tarleton came up, and immediately rushed to the charge. The first American line was soon broken, and hastily retreated into the rear of the second, which was then attacked, and thrown into some confusion, when Morgan ordered the men to fall back and unite with the reserve. This movement was mistaken for a flight by the assailants, who pushed on exultingly, in somewhat irregular order. Suddenly, the Americans, having fully adjusted their line, halted, wheeled round, and commenced a destructive fire on their pursuers, who being seen to falter, a charge was made with the bayonet, and by the cavalry with their drawn swords. After a short contest, the lately victorious British were completely routed, and nearly the whole infantry surrounded and obliged to surrender. The cavalry escaped by flight; but upwards of 100 were killed, and 500 made prisoners. Tarleton declares himself quite unable to account for so total a rout. He appears in fact to have attacked in his usual impetuous manner, on the calculation of encountering mostly loose militia levies, whereas the greater part of the opposing force was veteran; even two of the militia companies consisted of regulars recently discharged. The British army suffered thus most severely, having lost all its light infantry, a corps particularly useful in such warfare; nor was it a small evil that the fame of the commander as an almost invincible partisan officer was deeply tarnished.*

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 396-405. Tarleton, pp. 216, 217.

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Cornwallis, however, having just received the reinforcement of 2600 men under Leslie, determined to efface the impression of this disaster by a series of the most active offensive operations. Destroying all his superfluous baggage, he supplied the loss of his light infantry by converting the whole army nearly into a corps of that description. His first hope was to overtake Morgan, and recover all that was lost, which he had so nearly effected that his van reached the Catawba on the 29th January, only two hours after the enemy had passed; when a torrent of rain swelled the waters and rendered it impossible for him to follow. Greene, who had hastened to take the command, hoped to defend the passage of this river, but it was forced on the 1st February at a private ford defended by Colonel Davidson, who was defeated and killed. Tarleton then surprised and dispersed a body of militia assembled at a neighbouring inn. The American general, considering himself wholly unable to hazard a battle, retreated before his adversary, who presently began a chase, which was continued incessantly and rapidly across the whole of North Carolina. On the night of the 2d February, the two divisions of the American army having effected a junction, crossed the Yadkin, but so closely followed, that their rear skirmished with the van of the enemy, and part of the baggage was taken. By another favourable chance, heavy rain fell during the night, and in the morning rendered the river impassable; so that Cornwallis was obliged to make a circuit to its upper fords, while his opponent continued his retreat. He marched towards the Dan, the chief branch of the Roanoke, which flows nearly along the boundary of Carolina and Virginia. It was a broad unfordable stream, and Greene, if he reached the other side, would be in safety; but the pursuit was continued in the confident hope of his being unable to find vessels sufficient to transport over his troops. This was indeed the case at the ferry immediately before him; but by an able movement he led his army twenty miles downward to two

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others, sending a detachment to bring the boats from the upper one. He thus collected a sufficient number, and by extraordinary exertions had his army ferried over, his rear reaching the northern bank just as the English van appeared on the southern. This march, or rather hunt, was considered highly creditable to both parties. Greene gained great applause on account of his disadvantageous situation, fleeing before a superior enemy who pursued with such rapidity, yet placing in safety not only his army but the greater part of his heavy baggage; still it must be owned that he was in several instances singularly favoured by fortune.*

Cornwallis now gave up the pursuit, and repaired to Hillsborough, with the view of calling out and organizing the royalist force. His adherents, though here peculiarly strong, did not come forward to the extent expected. The larger portion, as elsewhere, regarded the cause with that passive and inert attachment which we have remarked to be generally prevalent; and even the more zealous, having suffered severely by former premature displays, dreaded lest the republican cause should regain the ascendency. The view also of the distress and exhaustion of the British troops, after so long a march, was by no means alluring. Yet seven companies were formed, and detachments began to come in from different quarters. On the other hand, Greene, having obtained a reinforcement of Virginian militia, repassed the Dan, and with his light troops endeavoured to annoy the British army and prevent recruiting. Major Lee surprised a detachment of royalists, who mistook him for Tarleton, and cut them nearly to pieces. On account of the exhausted state of the country at Hillsborough, Cornwallis withdrew to a position on the Allimance Creek between Haw and Deep Rivers, where he could be better supplied, and support his friends, who were there numerous. Greene, however, by an active use of his cavalry and light troops, severely harassed his opponent;

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 407-414. Adolphus, vol. iii. pp. 392, 393.

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and by changing his own position every night, eluded the attempt to bring him to an engagement.

At length the American general, having received reinforcements, which raised his army to above 4200 men, of whom about a third were regulars, determined to offer battle. This was what the other had eagerly sought; yet his own effective force being reduced to somewhat under 2000, he felt now some hesitation, and probably would have acted more wisely in maintaining the defensive. Even the enterprising Tarleton observes, that in his circumstances defeat would have been total ruin, while any victory he might expect to gain could yield little fruit. All the habits and views of Cornwallis, however, being directed to an active campaign, he formed his resolution, and on the 15th March proceeded to the attack. Greene had drawn up his army very judiciously, near Guildford court-house, mostly on a range of hills covered with trees and brushwood. Adopting still the system of making the militia bear the first brunt, he placed that of Carolina in the front, while the Virginian, considered somewhat better, formed the second line, and he remained in the third with the continental troops, in whom alone he placed full confidence. The British, proceeding with impetuosity, and having driven in the advanced guard of cavalry, attacked the Carolina line, who, scarcely discharging their muskets, fled precipitately after the first hostile fire, and many even before. This front having gone for nothing, the next movement was against the Virginians, who stood their ground with some firmness; but being unable to resist the bayonet, which was soon brought against them, they too were put to flight. The assailants then advanced against the third line; but the regiments, having experienced different degrees of resistance, came on impetuously, in an uneven line and some disorder. Greene then felt sanguine hopes, that a steady charge from his chosen troops would turn the fortune of the day. He was dismayed to see the second Maryland regiment give way at once, after which he thought only of retiring; but Colonel Gunby at the head of the

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first gained a decided advantage over the corps under Colonel Stewart, and there followed an obstinate and somewhat desultory contest between the different corps, after which the Americans were compelled to a general retreat. Yet a strong body of riflemen on the left flank kept up a galling fire, till Tarleton with the cavalry drove them off the field. In this hard fought battle, the Americans own a loss of 326 killed and wounded, and about 800 militia dispersed.*

The English gained great glory by a victory over numbers so superior; yet it was dearly earned, the killed and wounded amounting to 532, including Colonels Stewart and Webster, two of their best officers, and reducing the effective force below 1500. This small corps, too, was in a very reduced and exhausted state. Stedman feelingly describes the hardships endured during the long marches, when, after reaching their nightly quarters in a very fatigued state, they had still to collect cattle and provisions amid woods and swamps, sometimes having beef without bread, sometimes the reverse; the latter mostly in the shape of Indian corn to be ground down by the joint action of the bayonet and canteen; not unfrequently it was in the ear, distributed at the rate of five ears between two men. Even after this triumphant day the army was nine miles distant from forage, and had been two days without bread; while they had not been joined by the native loyalists to any important extent. In short, the English general formed the resolution to fall back upon Wilmington near the mouth of Cape Fear River, which had been occupied by Major Craig, where he could recruit his troops and obtain supplies and reinforcements by sea. Without a minute knowledge of the circumstances, it is impossible to decide, and Cornwallis was never suspected of leaning to timid counsels; yet we cannot but feel that much ought to have been done and suffered before taking so fatal a step, which involved at least the abandonment of North Carolina.

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 418-436. Tarleton, p. 274-277.

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Greene retreated about fifteen miles; taking post behind a small stream named Troublesome Creek, where he expected and determined to await an attack; but was soon agreeably surprised by learning that his antagonist was in full retreat, and had even left eighty wounded, recommended to his care. He immediately set out in pursuit, and after overcoming various obstacles, arrived on the 28th March at Ramsay's Mills, on Deep River, where, having learned the direction which the British were taking, he paused for a few days to recruit, and deliberate on his future plans. At Wilmington, the hostile army would be in communication with the sea, of which they were then masters; so that there no serious impression could be made upon them; and if they received reinforcements, serious danger might be incurred. He formed, therefore, the bold but able resolution of carrying the war into South Carolina, to which he was now nearer than his adversary, and where Lord Rawdon (afterwards Marquis of Hastings) had been left with only the force that appeared necessary to keep down insurrection. Directing his march immediately to this quarter, he had made some progress before the tidings reached Lord Cornwallis, by whom this movement appears to have been quite unexpected. He now, however, considered that it was impossible to reach the American army till the collision had taken place between it and Lord Rawdon; and if the latter should retreat upon Charleston, he himself could reach the scene of action only by a long and difficult march, crossing several broad rivers, and exposed to attack in disadvantageous positions. He resolved, in preference, to advance in the opposite direction upon Virginia, where, uniting himself to considerable forces already assembled, he might make the cause decidedly preponderant. He hoped thus to recall Greene; or, at all events, by conquering that great and important colony, to secure the ultimate subjugation of the southern states.* We

* Stedman, vol. ii. p. 226. Marshall, vol. iv. p. 435-444. Tarleton, pp. 283-289, 325-327. Answer to Clinton (by Cornwallis), pp. v, 6, 43.

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must not judge this measure by the event, which we shall see was brought on by complicated and unexpected circumstances; but in the mean time shall follow out the Carolina campaign.

Greene, without regard to the movements of his opponent, pushed on to his destination. The militia having either deserted, or their term of service being expired, his force was reduced to 1800 men; but those, in fact, included all on whom he could ever place much dependence. Approaching Camden, he found it occupied by Rawdon, with about 800 men, the other troops being employed upon the defence of detached posts; yet his position was judged so strong as to afford no hope of success in a direct attack. The object aimed at was, by throwing out detachments which might capture the forts, and cut off the supplies in his rear, to compel him gradually to fall back. Lee, for this purpose, was sent with a strong party to co-operate with Marion and Sumpter. The English general, seeing the hostile troops thus reduced to about 1500, formed the bold resolution of attacking them. Making a large circuit round a swamp, he came upon their left flank quite unexpectedly, while the soldiers were busied in cooking and washing. This first surprise was never wholly recovered; yet they quickly stood to their arms, and formed in order of battle. They had even gained some advantages, when the 1st Maryland regiment, considered the flower of the army, and which had highly distinguished itself both at Cowpens and Guildford, fell into confusion; and when ordered to make a retrograde movement, converted it into a complete retreat. The other corps, also, beginning to give ground, Greene thought it expedient to cause the whole to retire. The loss on each side was about 260 killed and wounded; and the Americans carried off 50 prisoners.*

This battle reflected much honour on Lord Rawdon, considering the disproportion of force, which was, in fact,

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 568-578.

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greater than at Guildford; yet it did not change materially the relative situation of the armies. Greene could still maintain his position, and support the detachments operating in the rear of his adversary. Lee and Marion proceeded first against Fort Watson on the Santee, which commanded in a great measure the communication with Charleston. Having neither artillery nor besieging tools, they reared a tower above the level of the rampart, whence their rifle fire drove the defenders, and themselves then mounted and compelled the garrison to surrender. They could not, however, prevent Colonel Watson from leading 500 men to reinforce Lord Rawdon, who then advanced with the intention of bringing Greene again to action, but found him fallen back upon so strong a position, as to afford no reasonable hope of success. His lordship finding his convoys intercepted, and viewing the generally insecure state of his posts in the lower country, considered himself under at least the temporary necessity of retreating thither. He had first in view the relief of Mottes House on the Congaree; but before reaching it, had the mortification to find that, with the garrison of 165, it had fallen into the hands of Marion and Lee. He continued his march to Monk's Corner, where he covered Charleston and the surrounding country. The partisan chiefs rapidly seized this opportunity of attacking the interior posts, and reduced successively Orangeburg, Granby on the Congaree, and Augusta, the key of Upper Georgia. In these five forts they made 1100 prisoners. The most important one, however, was that named Ninety-six, on the Saluda, defended by a garrison of 500 men. Orders had been sent to them to quit and retire downwards; but the messenger was intercepted; and Colonel Cruger, the commander, made the most active preparations for its defence. Greene considered the place of such importance, that he undertook the siege in person, with a thousand regulars. He broke ground before it on the night of the 23d May, and though much impeded by a successful sally on the following day, proceeded with such energy,

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that by the 3d June, the second parallel was completed, and the garrison summoned, but in vain, to surrender. On the 8th, he was reinforced by Lee, from the capture of Augusta; and though he encountered a most gallant and effective resistance, trusted that the place must in due time fall. Three days after, however, he learned that Rawdon, having received a reinforcement from Ireland, was in full march to relieve it, and had baffled the attempts of Sumpter to impede his progress. The American leader, therefore, feeling himself unable to give battle, saw no prospect of carrying the fortress unless by storm. On the 18th, an attack against the two most commanding outworks was led by Lee and Campbell, the former of whom carried his point; but the latter, though he penetrated into the ditch, and maintained his party there for three quarters of an hour, found them exposed to so destructive a fire as compelled a general retreat. The siege was immediately raised, and Lord Rawdon, on the 21st, entered the place in triumph. Being again master of the field, he pressed forward in the hope of bringing his antagonist to battle; but the latter rather chose to fall back towards the distant point of Charlotte in Virginia, while Rawdon did not attempt to pursue him beyond the Ennoree.*

Notwithstanding this present superiority, his lordship, having failed in his hopes of a decisive victory, and viewing the general aspect of the country, considered it no longer possible to attempt more than covering the lower districts of South Carolina. He therefore fell back to Orangeburg on the Edisto; and though he attempted at first to maintain Cruger with a strong body at Ninety-six, was soon induced to recall him. Greene, being reinforced by 1000 men under Marion and Sumpter, reconnoitred his position, but judged it imprudent to attack; and both armies, exhausted by such a series of active movements, took an interval of repose during the heat of the season.

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 579-593.

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Lord Rawdon, being at this time obliged by ill health to return home, left the army under Colonel Stuart, who, to cover the lower country, occupied a position at the point where the Congaree and Wateree unite in forming the Santee. Greene, having received reinforcements from the north, and collected all his partisan detachments, found himself strong enough to try the chance of battle. His approach with this evident view induced the other party to retire forty miles down the river, to the strong post of Eutaw, whither the American immediately followed by slow and easy marches. On the 8th September, the latter determined to attack the British camp, placing as usual his militia in front, hoping that the English, in beating and pursuing them, would at least get into confusion; but from this very dread, the latter had been warned to keep their posts till ordered to move. The American front, however, maintained their ground better than usual, and the British, before beating them, became heated, and forgetful of the warnings given, pushed forward irregularly. They were then charged by the veterans in the second line, and after a very desperate struggle, driven off the field. There lay in their way, however, a large brick building and adjacent garden, where Stuart placed a strong corps, who could not be dislodged, and kept up a deadly fire, which checked the victors, enabling the retreating troops to be formed anew. At the same time, Colonel Washington attacked the British flank; but finding it strongly posted among woods, he was repulsed with great loss, and himself taken prisoner. The American general, seeing no hope of making any further impression, retreated to his previous position. In this bloody and doubtful battle, both parties claim the victory, though the British seemingly with most reason, as the general result was their repulse of an assailing force. It was certainly far from decisive; and their loss of 85 killed and 608 wounded was very little less than that of the enemy, who carried off also above 200 prisoners. The British commander then

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formed a resolution, prompted less probably by the result of the day, than by the general state of the upper country, and the numbers and activity of the American light troops. Conceiving himself unable to maintain so advanced a position, he began to move on the evening of the 9th, and proceeded down to Monk's Corner, where he merely covered Charleston and its vicinity. To this and to Savannah were now limited British authority, which had lately extended so widely over the southern states.*

In contemplating this great reverse, it is impossible not to be struck by the circumstance, that it was mainly caused by a hostile spirit kindled in the country, which Lord Rawdon describes as wholly in arms against him. Contrasting this with the period following the capture of Charleston, when it was universally loyal and submissive, and considering that the operations were conducted by officers of high honour and humanity, curiosity is excited whence so great a change had arisen. We may remark that, though a free constitution was promised, the people were meantime subjected to martial law,—an authority novel and particularly distasteful to them. Cornwallis is found adopting measures against plunder; yet these indicate its existence, and could have been enforced with great difficulty among the numerous detachments, partly of irregulars, who were spread over the country. Ramsay asserts, that many assumed the character of loyal militia with a mere view to the opportunities of booty. We find Prevost admitting, that many outrages were committed by his irregulars, which he heartily abhorred, but could not prevent; only alleging, that they were exceeded by those on the opposite side. The conduct of the militia who deserted was doubtless criminal; yet public opinion found an excuse in the reigning political excitement, and scarcely accorded with the extreme penalty inflicted on them. The forfeiture of the property of those

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 593-613.

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who left the country was after an example set by the Americans; yet rigour in enforcing this and other measures was probably one cause of the recent disaffection. It was going very far, too, to prohibit all sales unless under British license, to refuse support to the wives of the patriots, and even compel them to depart. The spectacle of women of the first distinction fleeing with their families in a state of total destitution, excited the public sympathy. It was unfortunate for Britain that the fair sex strongly shared these feelings, and many warmly espoused the patriotic cause, glorying even in the title of "rebel ladies." Through these various agencies, the passive friendship with which the British had at first been regarded, was changed into decided hostility. To its influence may be added the great ability of Greene, more matured and steady perhaps than that of his younger opponents. Such seem the chief causes why an expedition, commenced under such triumphant auspices, and supported by so many brilliant achievements, had so abortive an issue.*

In the belief that it would be satisfactory to the reader to trace this eventful campaign in the south continuously, rather than in fragments intermingled with other subjects, we have thus been led to anticipate the order of time, and must now go back to trace the course of events in the more central parts of the theatre of war.

When Clinton sailed for the south, Knyphausen was left in command at New York, with instructions, while the main theatre of action continued elsewhere, to maintain a merely defensive position. An opportunity was thus afforded, which Washington eagerly desired to seize, and felt the more tempting, as during the intense cold of the succeeding winter all the waters around New York and its adjacent insular posts were frozen, and thus rendered accessible to a

* Rawdon's Despatch in Tarleton, p. 328. Ramsay's South Carolina, vol. ii. pp. 275, 276. Remembrancer, vol. ii. p. 124; vol. vii. p. 350; vol. x. p. 259-279.

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land-force. He had the mortification to find that, reduced as the adverse force was, it still outnumbered his own, which was besides so destitute of food and clothing, that it was with difficulty kept together, and quite unfit for any laborious movement. The supplies still depended on the states, which furnished them as scantily and precariously as ever; while a new plan adopted of making the requisitions in goods rather than in money, proved still more cumbrous and inefficient. Changes were made in the commissariat, but injudiciously, and without any good effect. At one time, Washington only preserved his army from starving by a requisition on the people of New Jersey, rendered effective by the intimation that the articles, if not forthcoming, would be taken by force. One attack was made by Lord Stirling against a detached post on Staten Island; but he found it too well guarded.

The army for 1780 was fixed at 35,211 men, instead of which the actual force under arms in June did not exceed 5500. Their pay was five months in arrear, and even when received was scarcely of any value, through the depreciation of the currency. A pledge was given that the deficiency from this source should be made good at the end of the war; but the troops complained that this availed little when they were at present without the means of subsistence. Two Connecticut regiments paraded under arms, with a resolution either to return home or obtain relief, and were with great difficulty recalled to their duty. Knyphausen was thus encouraged to send a considerable force in this direction; but they found the army ready to fight, and the militia promptly mustering, so that, the present policy being defensive, they returned. On the 18th June, Clinton arrived from South Carolina with about 4000 men,—an event which caused the greatest alarm to General Washington; and, in fact, he made another excursion in this quarter, but from similar motives did not advance farther than Springfield. He did not indeed, notwithstanding the weakness of the American

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army, consider himself in a condition for any large offensive operation, stating his whole force at 12,000 men, of whom 9300 were fit for duty; and after garrisoning the posts in and round New York, there remained scarcely a moveable body of 5000, wholly insufficient for penetrating to any depth in the interior. He now therefore demanded a reinforcement of 10,000, before he could hold out any hope of reducing America by force of arms.*

An event, moreover, had by this time been announced, which gave a new turn to the current of affairs. The Marquis de la Fayette had embraced with the utmost ardour the cause of the Americans, and on a visit to his native country, had urged it so strongly upon his court, as at length to obtain the promise of a strong fleet and army to co-operate with theirs. These tidings, brought out by himself, were received with the highest exultation by congress, who in the preceding January had promised to the French minister to bring forward 25,000 men and abundant supplies, with very little consideration how these were to be provided. They roused themselves indeed somewhat from the torpor into which they had sunk, and made urgent requisitions for the states to make good their quotas, representing the disgrace inevitably incurred if the army should be exhibited to their allies in its present reduced state, totally incapable of any effective co-operation. These remonstrances had an effect too similar to those which had preceded; but some individual spirit was kindled. A bank was formed at Philadelphia, and £315,000 subscribed, solely to supply provisions to the troops; the ladies in that city and elsewhere made liberal contributions; but these means did not go far in relieving the immense wants under which the army laboured.

On the 13th July, intelligence was received that the French fleet had been seen off the capes of Virginia,

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 241-285. Clinton's Narrative, pp. 12, 13, 99.

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and next day that, according to previous arrangements, they were standing into the harbour of Newport on Rhode Island. About 6000 men, under the Count de Rochambeau, were escorted by a squadron under the Chevalier Ternay. A second division was at Brest, waiting for transports; but it was afterwards blockaded by an English fleet, and never reached America. This arrival, while it gratified, not a little embarrassed Washington. All the recent efforts had brought only a thousand recruits, and he laboured under extreme uncertainty as to when he might expect more. The whole combined force would not exceed that now strongly fortified in New York; yet he determined to propose a joint attack by sea and land. This arrangement, however, rested upon the naval superiority which Ternay at first possessed; but it was transferred to the other side by the arrival of six sail under Graves. Clinton was even encouraged to make an attempt upon the ships and troops at Newport; but delays in equipping his own vessels retarded the movement till the place was found too strongly secured. Hopes were meantime entertained that Admiral de Guichen, from the West Indies, would re-establish the French superiority; but instead of him, Rodney arrived with a squadron, which made the English complete masters in these seas. Rhode Island, during the rest of the season, was kept closely blockaded. The consequent inaction greatly chagrined Washington, though seemingly he might have been rather pleased that his own extreme weakness should not be manifested.*

An occurrence now happened which excited an intense interest throughout the Union. General Arnold, next to Washington, had been the most conspicuous military character of the revolution. His campaign in Canada, notwithstanding its misfortunes, had elevated him to the highest reputation. Unluckily, his temper and manners, proud and overbearing, raised up numerous enemies,

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 287-323. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 325.

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who became even a majority in congress. Hence, when an extensive promotion was made, he was passed over, and five officers junior in the service, and much inferior in reputation, were placed over his head. Washington deeply deplored this injustice, and remonstrated, though vainly, against it. He did every thing possible to sooth the wounded pride of his friend, whose exploits as a volunteer, during several attacks on the coast of New England, were so very splendid, that congress could no longer avoid granting the promotion, though tardily and ungraciously. The commander-in-chief then procured for him an appointment in the army sent against Burgoyne, where he greatly augmented his reputation, and being disabled by severe wounds for field service, obtained from the same authority the honourable station of commandant in Philadelphia. Here, however, his lofty bearing brought him into collision with the members of congress and the provincial council of that city. He made a claim for reimbursement of advances during the Canadian campaign, which was alleged by his enemies to be exorbitant, and even fraudulent. Its amount or nature being nowhere stated, it is difficult to judge; but there could be nothing very gross, since the hostile party never founded upon it any charge, nor was the demand ever withdrawn by himself. Congress, only alleging the intricacy of the account, delayed the settlement from time to time, and no part was ever actually paid. This was the more harassing, as an extravagant mode of living had involved him in embarrassments, which he sought to relieve by privateering and commercial speculations, not certainly dishonest, yet considered unsuitable to his rank and situation; and being unfortunate, they aggravated his distress. From the observation of these circumstances, his enemies inferred the likelihood of his abusing, for corrupt purposes, the powers attached to his command. Eagerly scanning with this view every particular, the city council presented a series of charges to congress; but a committee of that body reported that nothing criminal had been proved. Among its members,

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however, then violently rent by faction, the party hostile to him preponderated. The report of their own committee was rejected, and a new one named, composed partly of the accusing council; yet, as even this was not found to work well, the affair was finally referred to a court-martial. The great difficulty found in making up a plausible accusation, with some military operations, caused a cruel delay of more than a year. At length, on the 26th January 1780, the court pronounced its sentence, finding him guilty only of two charges,—that when at Valleyforge he had granted protection to a vessel sailing from Philadelphia, when it was somewhat irregular to do so; and that he had once employed public wagons in the conveyance of private property, though paying all the expenses. Neither act, in the opinion of the court, implied any criminal intention; yet upon these nugatory grounds he was sentenced to be publicly reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. That great man could not escape the unwelcome task, but executed it in the most delicate possible manner, rendering it indeed rather a panegyric than a censure. He recalled his great actions, and promised fresh opportunities for distinction; but nothing probably could sooth his wounded feelings at not obtaining that full acquittal to which he felt himself entitled.*

Arnold now finally determined to go over to the British cause. The grounds assigned by him were, that America had gained all her demands, and there remained no longer any motive for separation, war, and the odious

* This account of Arnold's conduct, which differs materially from that found in the common histories, is drawn from his life by Mr Sparks (Library of American Biography, vol. iii. Boston, 1835). The narrative is written on full and good information, and with candour, amid an almost avowed bias against the subject of it. See particularly pp. 130, 138, 141-145. We are sorry to observe, such is the rancour in America against Arnold, that the most candid historians, without absolutely asserting that he was found guilty of the charges, have used expressions which are susceptible of and tend to convey that meaning. See Marshall, vol. iv. pp. 328, 329. Nay, Mr Sparks himself, in his Life of Washington, has done the very same, vol. i. p. 339.

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alliance with France. These were motives which might have fairly swayed his mind, had they been openly and honourably acted upon; and even some bias from accumulated wrongs might have been excused by human infirmity. But the purpose was carried out in a manner which fully justifies the Americans in branding him with the name of traitor, though not for the extreme rancour with which they have followed his memory. He made, perhaps, too large personal stipulations for himself, especially if they included a sum of money, which, however, seems not to have been ascertained. He carried on a long correspondence, and gave information to the British, while he held office, and professed zeal in the American interest; lastly, he took steps now to be narrated, by which no man of honour would seek to support even the best of causes.

His object was to obtain the possession of some important post, by delivering over which he might gain high credit with his new employers; and this design was facilitated by the great value set on his talents by the commander-in-chief. He accordingly solicited the command at West Point, the key of all the positions on the Hudson, and by which the two wings of the army mainly communicated. This choice surprised Washington, who had destined him for leader of one of the wings of the army, as likely to be both the most useful and most agreeable to his ardent temper; however, he consented. Arnold could then arrange that, while the place appeared perfectly secure, there might be left an unguarded point by which an enemy could enter. Of this he apprized Major André, with whom he had all along corresponded, at the same time soliciting and pointing out means for a meeting within the American lines. This was effected after some difficulty, and all the necessary arrangements were then made. Circumstances obliged the English officer to return by a circuitous route; but, with an escort and Arnold's passport, he succeeded in passing safely all the hostile guards, and had reached a sort of neutral ground, where

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he appeared quite safe. Suddenly three men rushed out from a wood, stopped his horse, and one presented a pistol to his breast, when erroneously supposing them to be British, he rashly betrayed his own character. They then searched his person, and found papers containing all the particulars of the plot, which, along with the prisoner, were carried to Colonel Jameson, the nearest commandant, who, bewildered and unable to see the bearings of the affair, sent expresses at once to Washington and to Arnold himself. The latter received his while at breakfast, and waiting a visit of inspection from the commander. He suppressed his emotions, and having taken a hurried and agonizing leave of his wife, ran down to the river, threw himself into a boat, and by urgency and promises induced the men to row him down with the utmost rapidity till he got on board a British vessel. Washington was not a little surprised on arriving not to find Arnold, of whom nothing could be learned during the whole forenoon. At four he received Jameson's despatch, when he is said to have displayed the utmost self-possession, only saying to La Fayette, "Whom can we trust now?"

André, thus placed in the power of his enemies, was considered the most rising young officer in the British army. After a few years' service, Clinton had appointed him adjutant-general, and he had every prospect of rising to the highest commands. His brilliant accomplishments, amiable temper, and engaging manners, rendered him the idol of his brother officers. With a noble though imprudent frankness, he wrote to Washington a statement of all the circumstances, not seemingly dreading that he would be treated otherwise than as a prisoner of war. That commander, however, submitted the case to a council of fourteen general officers, who decided that he ought to be considered as a spy, and as such to suffer death. The legality of the sentence seems indubitable, since the only plea offered, that he came at the desire and under the flag of an American general, appears futile when the well-known purpose is considered. Still the question

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was, whether, when there was no breach either of honour or morality, a magnanimous clemency might not have been laudably exercised. This is stated to have been Rochambeau's opinion; but Washington, with regret it is said, decided otherwise. Clinton lavished offers of exchange, and Arnold wrote a violent letter, threatening bloody reprisals; but this rather injured the cause. The only overture made was to take the latter himself in exchange, to which, of course, Clinton could never listen. The captive met his doom with a gentle and heroic fortitude, admired even by those who condemned him. It must be added, that the American writers, while they defend the measure, express deep sympathy in his fate, and have almost indeed canonized his memory.*

During the winter, Washington was indefatigable in urging congress and the states to take measures for rendering the army somewhat efficient. His remonstrances, with the shame of a palpable failure before their great ally, roused them to a certain degree of activity. But their finances were in a more desperate state than ever. Their paper had ceased to bear any value; their credit was entirely exhausted; the taxes which could be levied on the people were of small amount, slow and uncertain in collection. There remained no possible resource unless from foreign courts, whom they had already wearied out by repeated applications. Mr Jay, nevertheless, was sent to Spain, which, having recently joined the confederacy, and professed great friendship for the new republic, was expected to grant some assistance. That gentleman, however, soon warned his employers, that the favour of this as of other courts rested solely upon interest, or even the whim or caprice of statesmen. The Count de Florida Blanca subjected him to a most rigid interrogatory as to the resources and prospects of the Union; and it transpired that the cabinet was very apprehensive of having embarked in a con-

* Sparks' Biography, chap. x. to xv. Marshall, vol. iv. p. 336-343.

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test in which it would not be duly supported. In this view, the deep financial distress which the solicitation exhibited was very unfavourable. Spain, moreover, earnestly insisted on having ceded to her the course of the Mississippi, and even all the country west of the Alleghany; a vast prospective object which Jay could not yield. Congress had sent over bills for £100,000, but after the acceptance of an amount of 14,000 dollars, the Spanish purse was closed,* and it was necessary to send the rest to Paris in search of better fortune. There, however, Franklin had complained how distressing he found it to be, as he terms it, "continually worrying the court for money;" and having sent out at great expense a fleet and an army, it might reasonably claim exemption from farther demands. Congress, in this extremity, sent over on a special mission Colonel Laurens, who by presenting, contrary to etiquette, a memorial in person to the king, and even hinting to the minister that America might otherwise be obliged to join Britain, extorted a subsidy of 6,000,000 livres (£240,000), with a farther sum by way of loan, and guarantee for a Dutch loan of 5,000,000 guilders (£414,000). This was intimated to be the very last pecuniary aid that could be granted; but it relieved the present urgency.†

Washington had also the satisfaction of prevailing upon congress to promise half-pay to the officers at the end of the war, and to enlist troops only for its whole duration. The states were also urged to make up the army to the number of 37,000 by the 1st January 1781, and the commander hoped that something approaching to the half of that number might have been assembled. By the 1st June, however, the whole fell short of 8000; yet he determined, with the aid of the French, to press forward offensive operations, considering it, in the present state of the Union, of the very last importance that the contest should be

* Sparks' Diplom. Correspond. vol. vii. pp. 227, 260, 289, 353, 383, 454.

† Diplom. Corresp. vol. iii. p. 109. Pitkin, vol. ii. pp. 158, 159.

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brought to a speedy period. Having, in the beginning of July, been joined by the French army under Rochambeau, he projected an attempt to surprise the posts defending the northern part of New York Island. The approach was made on two different points; but want of concert, and the prepared state of the British, rendered the attempt abortive. The American commander then, learning that a reinforcement of 3000 Hessians had arrived in New York, gave up all hopes of carrying that capital, and turned his views in another direction.*

Virginia had insensibly, as it were, become a principal theatre of war. Leslie, as already observed, had been sent thither to reinforce Cornwallis, who, it was hoped, might penetrate through the Carolinas; but, after Ferguson's disaster, he was ordered to go round by Charleston. With the view, however, of creating a diversion in favour of the southern army, Clinton, in December 1780, sent Arnold with 1600 men to the Chesapeake. That officer, displaying all his wonted activity, overran a great extent of country, and captured Richmond, the capital, destroying great quantities of stores. Washington, most anxious to strike a blow against him, prevailed upon Destouches, the French admiral, to proceed thither with a land-force; but the latter was overtaken by Arbuthnot, and endured a hard battle, which, though not admitted to be a defeat, obliged him to return. Clinton, still with the same view, sent another force of 2000 men, under General Phillips, which arrived in the Chesapeake on the 26th March. This officer, being complete master of the field, overran the country between the James and York rivers, seized the large town of Petersburg, as also Chesterfield court-house, the militia rendezvous, and other stations, destroying great quantities of shipping and stores, with all the warehoused tobacco. La Fayette being sent against him, added to his force about 2000 militia, and succeeded by good dispositions in securing Richmond. Operations seemed at a

* Marshall, vol. iv. pp. 362-364, 502, 512, 517-523.

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stand, when intelligence was received of Cornwallis' march into this territory; and, in spite of every effort of the French general, he, in the end of May, joined Phillips at Petersburg, taking the command of the whole army. Being then decidedly superior, he took possession of Richmond, and began a hot pursuit of La Fayette, who retreated into the upper country so rapidly and so skilfully, that he could not be overtaken. The English general then turned back, and sent a detachment under Colonel Simcoe, who destroyed the enemy's chief magazine at the junction of the two branches of James River. Tarleton pushed his cavalry so swiftly upon Charlotteville, where the state assembly was met, that seven members were taken, and the rest very narrowly escaped. La Fayette, however, now returned with a considerable force, and, by his manœuvres, induced the British commander to retire to Williamsburg. He afterwards continued his retreat to Portsmouth, in the course of which the former made an attack, but was repulsed, and would have been totally routed, had not his strength been estimated above its real amount.*

The movement of Cornwallis into Virginia had been wholly disapproved by Clinton, who complained that, contrary to all his views and intentions, the main theatre of war had been transferred to a territory into which he never proposed more than partial inroads, considering it very difficult to subdue and maintain. His grand object had always been, first to secure New York, and if sufficient strength was afforded, to push offensive operations thence into the interior. Hoping, therefore, that the Carolinas, once subdued, might be retained by a small force, he had repeatedly solicited the partial return of the troops. Cornwallis defended the movement by observing, that his situation at Wilmington, allowing no time to send for instructions, obliged

* Marshall, vol. iv. pp. 445, 478-499. Tarleton, p. 297. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 401-404.

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him to act on his own responsibility. Communicating also with the government at home, he urged that the Carolinas could not be securely held without the possession also of Virginia; that this might be attained by a vigorous effort, and would make Britain mistress of all the fine southern colonies, whose resources could be then employed in conquering the more stubborn regions of the north. These arguments, recommended by his lordship's brilliant achievements at Camden and elsewhere, convinced the ministry; and Lord Germaine wrote to the commander-in-chief to direct his principal attention to the war in Virginia, and to the plan of conquest from south to north. The latter, considering himself thus slighted, solicited permission to resign, and leave the command to an officer who enjoyed greater confidence; but his merits being highly estimated, this tender was not accepted.

Under the apprehension inspired by the threatening movements of Washington and the French army against New York, he had ordered a considerable reinforcement from Virginia, but countermanded it on receiving the above instructions, along with an additional body of troops. He had formed apparently a favourite plan, somewhat of a compromise between the two. It is nowhere distinctly developed in his letters; but by a passage in one, very active operations were proposed at the head of the Chesapeake, to be combined probably with a movement from New York, and comprehending Philadelphia and Baltimore. Aware that this plan required the maritime command of that great inlet, he inquired if ministers would ensure its maintenance; and they made this engagement without duly considering its difficulties. Under these views, he directed Cornwallis to occupy and fortify a naval position at the entrance of the bay, specially recommending Old Point Comfort, at the mouth of James River. This measure did not harmonize with Cornwallis' views: however he obeyed; but the above position being declared by the engineers indefensible, he recommended,

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in preference, York, on the river of that name; which was agreed to, and operations actively commenced.*

Washington, meantime, had been meditating movements in Virginia, and had solicited De Grasse, then in the West Indies, to secure for him at least a temporary command of the Chesapeake. After the failure of his efforts and hopes in regard to New York, this became his main object. With the highest satisfaction he received the intimation, that, on the 3d August, the French admiral, with above 25 ships of the line and 3200 troops, would sail for the Chesapeake, and remain there till the middle of October. No hesitation was then made in commencing a movement upon Virginia with the whole French army and a strong detachment of the American. It was impossible that so great a movement could be concealed; but the utmost pains were taken to lead Clinton into the belief that its object was New York. This was the less difficult, as the American commander's aims and efforts had long been really turned in that direction, and his opponent had felt extremely sensitive on that subject. The crossing of the Hudson, and the march down its right bank, might have been undertaken with either design. Letters were written, and contrived to be intercepted, tending to confirm the deception. It was not till the 31st August that the allied force took their direct route to the Chesapeake: they had then an easy march to the head of that estuary, down which they would be conveyed in transports to Lord Cornwallis' position, which could be reached from New York only amid the uncertainties of a maritime voyage, and the access, it was hoped, blocked up by a superior fleet. In fact, De Grasse, with twenty-eight sail of the line, had entered it in the end of August. Rodney had been opposed to him in the West Indies; but imagining that a

* Clinton's Narrative, pp. 8, 12, 36, 50, 82, 90, 99. Reply to Clinton (Themistocles), pp. 9, 15. Debrett's Parliamentary Register, vol. viii. p. 150-152.

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great part of the French fleet must have been sent to protect a convoy going to Europe, he himself took that direction, and sent only fourteen sail, under Admiral Hood, to New York. That officer there came under the command of his senior, Admiral Graves, who, having nineteen vessels, hesitated not to sail for the Chesapeake, to attack the superior force of De Grasse. He found it ranged across the entrance, and an obstinate contest ensued, with various and on the whole indecisive results. Then, however, Barras from Newport brought a reinforcement, which rendered the French force so decidedly superior, that Graves was obliged to return.*

Amid all these movements, it was not till the 6th September that Clinton became fully aware of the enemy's destination, and of the extreme danger to which Cornwallis would thus be exposed. He then wrote to that nobleman, pointing out the circumstances, and proposing, as the only mode of relieving him, that he himself should sail from New York, and join him with a reinforcement of 4000 troops. This course implied that the Virginian army should meantime remain on the defensive in its present position. It appears to us manifest that the plan involved a capital error; and that the only assured safety for that army was to have instantly commenced a rapid retreat upon Charleston. It would then have been in a much stronger position, and could either have retired or been reinforced by sea. That this course would be taken was the main dread of Washington, who intended indeed to have followed; but he could not have left the north wholly defenceless. Clinton's plan depended on the uncertain operations of a fleet, which had, moreover, to defeat or elude a superior one; while the army, when landed, would have had to cut its way through another three times more numerous. Afterwards, when it became evident that the march southwards would have been the eligible course, he insisted that there was nothing to preclude its having

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 524-531.

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been followed by Cornwallis, who, in his separate command, had been allowed, and had most liberally exercised, a discretionary power. His lordship, however, seems reasonably to urge, that the case was very different when he had a letter from his commander-in-chief, written in full knowledge of all the circumstances, and pointing out as the only eligible course one in which he himself was preparing to act a part. Not to have co-operated with him, but to have followed a plan directly opposite, would have been completely to disregard his authority; while an awful responsibility would have been incurred in the abandonment of his posts, stores, and hospitals, in a rapid retreat before a superior enemy.*

He continued, therefore, in his position at York, while perils thickened around him. Washington, dreading chiefly the march southward, directed La Fayette to take post at Williamsburg, where he himself arrived on the 14th September. Tarleton, ever enterprising, urged an attack upon this force while still inferior to the British; but this was declined; and indeed it should seem that such able commanders would easily have avoided fighting in a disadvantageous position by retreating behind the broad estuary of James River. The successive divisions, descending the Chesapeake, continued to arrive at Williamsburg, where, on the 25th September, the last of them landed, raising the army to 7000 French, 5500 American regulars, and 3500 militia. On the 28th, this force broke up and moved towards York, which the British commander had been diligently fortifying, while a smaller post was maintained at Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river. He had formed an outer circuit of intrenched lines; but these, during the evening of the 29th, he abandoned, retiring within the body of the fort. This movement surprised Washington, and is also disapproved by Tarleton, who thinks he might have gained time by maintaining this exterior

* Parl. Register, vol. viii. p. 189. Clinton's Narrative, p. 52. Cornwallis' Answer, p. 11. Clinton's Observations on it, pp. 32, 33. Reply to Clinton, p. 52. Sparks, vol. i. p. 365.

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position. He had just, however, received a letter from Clinton, intimating a full expectation of sailing on the 5th October, or at most, two or three days later; and judging the works fully sufficient to hold out till his arrival, dreaded loss and peril from encountering, even within lines, so superior an enemy.

The operations of the besieging army were confined to a strict blockade till the 6th October, when the artillery and military stores arrived in the camp. On the evening of that day the first parallel was begun with silence and caution, and before morning was so far advanced as in a great measure to cover the troops. All being felt to depend upon rapidity, operations were pushed with the utmost ardour, and the two nations were incited to a rivalry in deeds of valour. By the 10th, the fire had become most formidable; a number of the batteries were silenced, and a frigate and three transports in the harbour set on fire and consumed. On the night of the 11th, the second parallel was commenced, and had the same success as the first, of being undiscovered till morning. Three days were devoted to its completion; but the British, having with great labour opened several new batteries, then poured in a most destructive fire. That in particular from two redoubts was so terrible, that without carrying them, the siege could not be prosecuted. This grand operation was fixed for the night of the 14th, when one fort was undertaken by the French under the Baron de Viomenil, the other by the Americans under La Fayette, aided by Colonels Hamilton and Laurens. The latter rushed on with such impetuosity, that, without firing a gun, they soon carried the post, making twenty prisoners, though losing forty killed and wounded. The French encountered a stronger resistance, and suffered the loss of about a hundred, but finally carried their redoubt also.

Cornwallis now perceived that a fatal crisis was rapidly approaching. He endeavoured to retard it by a sally, on the morning of the 16th, of 350 men under Colonel Abercrombie, who carried the two most advanced bat-

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teries, but could not retain them for a sufficient time to complete their destruction. On the following night, it was determined to cross to the northern bank, and endeavour to force a way by land to New York. The boats were collected with the greatest secrecy, the embarkation completed, and even the landing commenced, when a violent tempest of wind and rain interrupted the movement, and obliged the troops to employ all their efforts in regaining the fortress. On the following day, all the batteries of the second parallel were finished, and began to play with such tremendous effect, that, in the opinion of the officers and engineers, the place was no longer tenable. Cornwallis therefore opened a negotiation for surrender, on the basis of the garrison being sent to Europe and remaining on parole until released or exchanged; but Washington would admit only of unconditional surrender. It was agreed, however, that the officers should be allowed the honours of war, with their arms and baggage; and that the Bonetta sloop of war should be permitted to go unsearched, with the understood view of placing in security those civil officers who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the United States government. On these conditions, the capitulation was signed on the morning of the 19th. The prisoners surrendered were 7073, of whom, however, only 4017 were fit for duty.*

Clinton, meantime, had not been forgetful of his promises; but the fleet had been so much shattered in the late engagement, that some preparation was necessary to fit it for sailing. It was, however, resolved, at a general meeting both of the military and naval commanders, that the 5th October should be fixed as the period for this movement; and he had therefore a reasonable expectation of fulfilling his promise. On the 28th September, he addressed a letter to Admiral Graves on this important point, who replied that the fleet could not sail till the 8th; terms which did not indeed imply a

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 537-553.

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positive pledge for that day, yet gave reason to hope that it would not be much exceeded. It did not, however, depart till the 19th, the very day on which the capitulation was signed. There seems thus to have been a wide miscalculation on the part of the naval commander, to which the fatal catastrophe may be in a great measure ascribed. Clinton had committed the original error of trusting to this precarious means of relief; but he seems responsible neither for the false hopes which he inspired nor for their non-fulfilment. He complains, on the other hand, that Cornwallis gave room to expect that he would hold out till the end of October. We certainly find his lordship, on the 16th September, writing that he had provisions for six weeks; and on the 29th, that if relieved "in any reasonable time," he had no apprehensions. Yet all this is somewhat vague, though it appears certain that he had no expectation of that extraordinary activity of the enemy which hurried on the issue with such disastrous rapidity. An imbittered controversy took place between these two eminent commanders, in which each seems to have succeeded in acquitting himself, rather than in inculpating his opponent.*

This dreadful catastrophe, like that of Burgoyne, was felt less from the actual amount of loss sustained, than from the impression which it made upon the public mind of Europe. In Britain, the popular feeling had been raised above former disasters by indignation against the league of the continental powers, and by the brilliant promises which the successes in the southern colonies seemed to afford. During the session of 1780-1781, indeed, Mr Fox, who now figured as leader of opposition, predicted that these would be very ephemeral, and repelled any expectation of finally recovering the lost colonies. Ministers, however, were still confident, and generally supported by the nation. In the course of the

* Parl. Register, vol. viii. p. 193, &c. Clinton's Narrative, pp. 64, 77.

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year 1781, however, the horizon of Europe assumed a darker aspect. A commercial treaty and other connexions formed by Holland with the colonies led to a declaration of war against her, involving a consequent collision with almost the whole naval power of the continent. The Empress of Russia, taking advantage of the state of affairs, placed herself at the head of what was termed the armed neutrality, having in view to limit the right of search hitherto exercised by Great Britain; and though this did not lead to any actual hostility, it rendered the situation of the country still more critical.

When, to the severe pressure thus caused, was added the disastrous intelligence from the new continent, there arose in the nation a cry for peace and for the recognition of American independence, as vehement as formerly for war and supremacy. This was a result, however, for which the cabinet was by no means prepared. On the assembling of parliament, 27th November 1781, the king's speech still expressed a determination to persevere, and the hope of a finally auspicious issue. Lord North indeed admitted that it was no longer expedient to carry on the war as formerly by marching armies into the interior; his plan was to maintain the present posts, to support the loyalists, and be ready to take advantage of circumstances. Under this view, the estimates were formed on a reduced scale; and an understanding was intimated, that no large reinforcements would be sent out to replace the losses sustained. The opposition members, however, while they traced the disasters to the misconduct of the ministry, urged the folly of Britain continuing to waste her strength in such a hopeless contest. Both the address and estimates, however, were carried by majorities of about two to one, and the recess suspended further discussion.

When the houses reassembled on the 20th January, the unpopularity of government had been aggravated by the capture of Minorca, and of St Christopher, with several smaller islands in the West Indies. The opposition, led by a phalanx of statesmen of the first rank—

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Fox, Pitt, Burke, Rockingham, Shelburne—determined to push matters to extremity. They were greatly encouraged by the result of a motion by Mr Fox concerning the conduct of the naval war, which was negatived by only 205 to 183. It became then evident that the country gentlemen were going over, and that persevering efforts would soon effect the grand object of ejecting the present ministry. A similar motion, on the 19th February, was defeated by only nineteen; and on the 22d, General Conway moved an address, deprecating the continuance of the war in America, and offering aid in a plan of reconciliation. After an animated debate, it was negatived by a majority of only one; when the final issue could not be doubtful. On the 27th he renewed his motion in another shape; and the minister, though only attempting to parry it by an adjournment, was left in a minority of nineteen. The general then moved, that the house would consider as enemies to their king and country all who should advise or attempt the further prosecution of the war. This was not resisted. Lord North, indeed, while lamenting his lot in holding office under such distressful circumstances, clung to it with extraordinary pertinacity. It was even intimated, that ministers were ready to become instruments in carrying out the measures thus dictated to them by parliament. Lord Germaine, more consistent, had resigned as soon as he saw the cabinet coming round to this conclusion. Nothing could less accord with the views of the opposition than such an arrangement, which was indeed liable to obvious objections; and seeing that their adversaries would yield only to direct attack, they did not hesitate to employ that course. On the 8th March 1782, Lord John Cavendish moved a series of resolutions, arraigning the misconduct of ministers, as having caused all the recent disasters. In this extremity, however, some of the country gentlemen rallied round the premier, who urged not without reason that every measure now denounced had been sanctioned by large and constant majorities. He obtained in consequence the small one

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of ten, which however was regarded as an earnest of final triumph to the opposite party. On the 15th a resolution of no-confidence was moved by Sir John Rous. Lord North made a sort of overture to assist in the formation of a coalition cabinet, which was indignantly rejected. His majority was reduced to nine; and to follow up the blow, Mr Fox announced a similar motion for the 19th; but on that day, Lord Surrey, the intended mover, was anticipated by a declaration that "ministers were no more." The premier made a concluding speech, explaining and defending the policy pursued during his long administration. In a few days, a new cabinet was arranged, having at its head the Marquis of Rockingham, supported by Fox, Burke, and others, all advocates of peace, and pledged to obtain it, even by sacrificing dominion over the revolted colonies.*

Lord North had already been privately feeling his way towards this object. Even early in 1781, the Empress of Russia had offered her mediation, which Britain had accepted; and at her request, the Emperor of Germany agreed to become a party. France, however, declined acceding, till she could treat along with her transatlantic ally, whom she invited to send plenipotentiaries for that purpose. Congress sent Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson to act in concert with Adams, then ambassador at Paris; and they requested Dr Franklin, though intending to return, that he would remain till this weighty affair was concluded. The powers were almost unlimited, except that they were to agree to nothing short of entire independence, and to make no arrangement without the knowledge and concurrence of the French ministers, by whose advice and opinion they were ultimately to govern themselves. It was agreed that the congress should be held at Vienna; but difficulties soon arose as to the footing on which it should be conducted. Mr Adams protested against

* Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 418-474. Parl. Register, vol. v. p. 125, &c.

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himself or his associates appearing in any other character than as representatives of an independent state; while the cabinet of London declared that peace could only be made when the league between France and the revolted colonies should be dissolved. This view was even supported by the allied courts, who proposed, indeed, that the two negotiations should be carried on and concluded together, but still as distinct transactions. As the two parties would not recede from these opposite views, the whole mediatory scheme was broken up.*

The new ministry, however, made no delay in opening negotiations on a lower basis, and with a thorough desire of bringing them to a favourable conclusion. The agreement was formed, after, it is supposed, considerable objection on the part of the king, and also of Lord Shelburne, to concede to the States their claim of entire independence. Mr Oswald was sent over to Paris in a private character, to sound both parties. The Count de Vergennes expressed his readiness to enter into negotiation in concert with the American plenipotentiaries, wishing that Paris might be made the theatre. Both these requests were conceded; and on the 7th May, Mr Grenville went over with full powers. In his first interview, he intimated the expectation, that on the acknowledgment of American independence, the object for which France had entered into the war, she would restore the conquests made during its progress; but Vergennes decidedly refused to admit such a stipulation.†

Serious obstacles thus opposed the progress of the treaty; and these were much increased by the death, on the 1st July, of the Marquis of Rockingham, a minister highly esteemed. The place of premier then devolved on Lord Shelburne, who had on former occasions expressed himself very strongly against the grant of independence; and a difference, understood to exist

* Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 105-112. Diplom. Corresp. vol. iii. p. 220.
† Pitkin, vol. ii. pp. 123, 124. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 505.

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on that subject, induced Fox and Burke to withdraw from the administration. Encouragement to take higher ground might be derived from the state of helplessness and exhaustion into which the United States government had fallen, as it was found impossible to draw from its separate members funds at all adequate to the maintenance of the army, which was thus incapable of undertaking any important enterprise. It is even asserted that Clinton undertook, if supplied with a reinforcement of 10,000 men, to reconquer all the colonies. He had, however, been recalled by the new ministry, and his place supplied by Sir Guy Carleton.*

These surmises proved to rest on a very slender foundation. According to Mr Fox's own explanation, the only difference of opinion was, whether the independence should be at once recognised, or should be reserved as an article of the treaty of peace. The negotiation proceeded as before, except that Mr Fitzherbert, who enjoyed the confidence of the new ministry, took the place of Mr Grenville; but Mr Oswald still continued to conduct the American treaty. It appears, indeed, that Mr Jones, afterwards celebrated as Sir William Jones, went to Paris, and submitted to Dr Franklin an imaginary fragment of Polybius, respecting the dissensions between Athens and her colonies. Its tenor was to sound him respecting a continued union, on a completely equal footing, between Britain and the American states; but it does not appear that any direct notice was taken of this kind of overture. Congress, in October 1782, published a resolution not to accept of anything short of entire independence, nor to separate from France. The negotiation went on smoothly. Mr Oswald's commission had been to treat with the *colonies* or *plantations* in America, terms to which Mr Jay strongly objected; and though both Vergennes and Franklin were satisfied, yet on a representation being made, a new one was sent

* Marshall, vol. iv. p. 501, &c. Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 522.

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over on the 21st September, altering the expression to United States of America. Oswald appears to have been a good easy man, earnestly desirous of bringing the negotiation to a favourable conclusion. The great satisfaction which both Franklin and Adams express, in the temper with which he carried on the discussion, justifies seemingly the suspicion, that he was scarcely a match for the veteran and energetic negotiators against whom he was pitched.*

There remained no longer any question as to the grant of independence; but there were still three subjects of warm discussion: 1. The western boundary, which the British wished to be formed by the Ohio, while the States demanded its extension to the lakes. 2. Their requisition of a share in the rich fisheries of Newfoundland, and other northern American coasts. 3. The compensation demanded by the British for the loyalists, who, adhering to the mother-country, had been driven out of the colonies. On all these points the Americans wefe prepared to make a most resolute stand; but they had soon the mortification to find, that the allied cabinet was disposed, respecting them all, to take a cold and even unfriendly part. This they were found to express, not only to themselves, but even to the British negotiators, particularly in respect to the loyalist compensation. Mr Adams assigns several reasons for this disposition, which seem rather fanciful. Probably in this monarchical cabinet, amid all the force of political interest, there was a strong feeling in favour of loyalty. The French ministers, too, aiming at extensive objects of their own, felt that the more the Americans gained, the less share could they themselves expect of what England might be willing to cede.

The commissioners now found themselves in a peculiar situation. Mr Oswald's earnest desire of peace, and

* Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 540. Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 127-132. Parl. Register, vol. ix. p. 225-228. Diplom. Corresp. vol. iii. p. 454; vol. vi. p. 441.

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also of concluding one separate from France, afforded every assurance of gaining from him the objects considered essential. On the other hand, their instructions bound them strictly to act in concert with the French king; a course to which the States really lay under strong obligations. It was determined, however, under the prompting of Adams, to discard that consideration, and to conclude with all possible speed a separate preliminary treaty with Mr Oswald. They succeeded almost to their most sanguine hopes. The river St Lawrence and the lakes were fixed as the leading boundaries, thereby extending their frontier at least to the Mississippi. They were allowed to take fish on the great bank, and within three leagues of the shores of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and to dry them on any of the unsettled coasts. With regard to compensation for the loyalists, they contrived to satisfy the English by a stipulation, that congress would recommend it to the individual states; and they knew too well the degree of attention paid to such recommendations, to suppose that they had committed themselves very deeply by this article. The treaty was signed on the 30th November 1782.*

It became soon necessary to communicate this intelligence to Vergennes, who wrote on the occasion an indignant letter to Dr Franklin, accusing him of having violated at once his instructions from congress and his obligations to the French king, and demanding an explanation. That statesman, who had really nothing to say in vindication, thought it best to plead guilty. He only urged, that his offence amounted merely to an indiscretion, a failure of *bienséance*, which he trusted would not interrupt their present happy union. He made lavish protestations of respect and gratitude to the French monarch, promising that nothing should be concluded without his concurrence. Vergennes probably saw that his compunction was not very deep; and in fact Adams

* Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 143-148. Diplom. Corresp. vol. iv. p. 50; vol. vi. p. 438-459, 484.

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at the same time wrote a letter to Mr Livingstone, foreign minister, strenuously justifying his conduct and that of his colleagues. At such a distance, and in untried circumstances, some discretion was necessary; and they would have been much to blame if, by following instructions issued in ignorance of important facts, they had thrown away great advantages that were within their reach. It does not appear in fact that any censure was ever passed on their having, contrary to orders, secured valuable benefits to their country.*

The French cabinet do not seem to have been impelled by resentment to any serious breach. They had moved at first slowly, standing on very high ground; but the victory of Rodney, the signal repulse of the allied armaments before Gibraltar, and the dilapidated state of their finances, which led in a few years to so fatal a crisis, made them very much in earnest on the subject. On the 20th January 1783, the preliminary treaty was signed between France, Spain, and Great Britain; and on the 3d September, the definitive treaties of all the powers were signed together. That of America was ratified by congress on the 14th January 1784.

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* Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 149-151. Diplom. Corresp. vol. iv. pp. 55, 56; vii. p. 58-65.

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CHAPTER III.

The new Constitution, and Proceedings under it.

Exhaustion of the American Government—Troubles in the Army—Its Dissolution—Disturbances throughout the Union—Meeting of Deputies at Annapolis—General Meeting at Philadelphia—Plan and Deliberations on a new Constitution—Agreed to—Opposition in the State Assemblies—Finally sanctioned—Washington President—The Cabinet—Amendments in the Constitution—Financial Plan—New Taxes—National Bank—Washington re-elected—Disputes with the Indians—Severe Contests under Harmar, St Clair, and Wayne—Peace—Disturbances in Pennsylvania—Negotiations with England—With Spain—Revolution in France—Proceedings of Genet, her Ambassador—Warm Discussions—He is recalled—Treaty with Great Britain—Dissatisfaction occasioned by it—Differences in the Cabinet—Close of Washington's Presidency—Adams succeeds—Mission to France of Monroe—Of Pinckney—Hostile Conduct of that Government—Corrupt Proposals of Talleyrand—Preparations for War—Accommodation effected—Democratic Spirit prevails—Jefferson President—Acquisition of Louisiana by Purchase—Expedition to Tripoli—Death of Hamilton—Daring Enterprise of Burr—Defeated.

THE United States had thus brought this long struggle to a triumphant issue; yet it left them in a state of peculiar distress and exhaustion. They had incurred a debt of 42,000,000 of dollars (above £9,000,000 sterling), besides 24,000,000 incurred by the particular states. The power of congress to provide for this burden, and generally to execute any of the functions of government, had become almost a nullity. Of 8,000,000 dollars, which they had demanded in 1782 as absolutely neces-

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sary for these purposes, they had received only 420,000. Much of the territory had been laid waste by the war, while foreign commerce was nearly annihilated, and internal trade greatly obstructed, through restrictions imposed by the separate legislatures, who were wholly disinclined to submit to any general regulation. Hence, too, it became impossible to enter into any commercial arrangement with foreign nations.*

The most urgent pressure arose from the arrears and claims of the army, amounting still to about 10,000 men. During several years they had been almost in a state of starvation, receiving a very small proportion of their pay, and in depreciated currency. They had been flattered by promises of ample liquidation as soon as the contest should terminate; but on seeing the near approach of this event, and of their own consequent dissolution, they began deeply to speculate how and by whom these promises were to be fulfilled. Congress was manifestly incapable of doing more than hand them over to the states, with a favourable recommendation, the efficacy of which long experience had taught them to estimate. The officers in 1780 had received the promise of half-pay; but many states had expressed strong scruples against this measure as unconstitutional and aristocratic, and seemed little inclined to burden at once their consciences and their purses by its fulfilment. Amid these considerations, a disposition arose among the troops to use the arms which they held in their hands as the means of obtaining justice. A colonel, respectable from age and services, wrote to Washington in the name of a number of his brother officers, pointing out the deplorable state of the country, the manifest inefficiency of a republican constitution, and the necessity of adopting a mixed government, in which the power and even the name of king might not be omitted. It was evident at whom he hinted; and Washington had certainly a very fair prospect of being able to assume the sovereign

* Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 180. Marshall, vol. iv. p. 669.

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authority. That patriotic commander, however, indignantly repelled the idea, expressing a painful regret that it should have arisen among any part of the army.*

This proposal was not renewed; but as the prospects of peace became brighter, the anxieties of the army deepened. In December 1783, the officers intrusted a committee of their number with a memorial to congress, representing their distressing situation, complaining that the promises hitherto made had produced only shadows, and demanding their substantial execution. They offered, since objections had been made to the half-pay, to commute it for a certain number of years of the full amount. Some of the members strongly supported their claim, proposing five full years as a fair compensation; but as the consent of nine states could not be obtained, the consideration of the affair dropped. The committee reported this result to the officers, among whom the ferment soon became extreme. On the 10th March, a meeting was called by an anonymous notice, accompanied with a letter, written, as was afterwards ascertained, by Major Armstrong. It complained in glowing terms of their hardships; while their country, instead of rewarding their services, trampled upon their rights, disdained their cries, and insulted their distresses. "Can you," it was said, "consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution; and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour?—Awake; attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain!" He proposed, therefore, instead of a *milk and water memorial*, to send a *remonstrance*, the tenor of which might harmonize with that of the letter. Doubtless the meeting, if held, would have fully responded to these sentiments. Washington, however, was fortunately in the

* Sparks, vol. i. p. 380-385. Marshall, vol. iv. p. 642.

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camp, and acted with his usual firmness and prudence. Besides dealing with individuals, he called a general meeting instead of the proposed irregular one. He reprobated the tenor of the letter, and the implied proposal of either deserting their country or turning their arms against her; at the same time expressing the strongest sense of their merits, and pledging himself to use his utmost efforts to obtain their demands. A complete turn was thus given to their feelings;—they unanimously declared full confidence in him, and appointed a committee, who drew up a series of resolutions avowing their abhorrence of the propositions made in the letter, but expressing a desire that the commander would write to the president of congress, earnestly soliciting a speedy decision. Washington did write in very strong language, which, coupled doubtless with a knowledge of the serious insurrectionary movements, procured an assent of nine states to the terms demanded. There were, however, no funds to make good this vote; and all the address of Washington was necessary to induce the troops to disband upon the mere engagement of congress. Indeed, a small detachment, which swelled to 300, marched to the house of assembly, and threatened that body, but were soon put down; and the pledges given to the army were we believe ultimately fulfilled.*

On the 24th March 1783, a French vessel from Cadiz brought a letter from La Fayette, announcing the signature of the preliminary treaty. Soon after, Sir Guy Carleton gave an official notice of the same tenor. It was not, however, till the 25th November that—the definitive articles having been concluded—the British army evacuated New York, and the Americans from West Point entered. On the 4th December, Washington took a solemn and deeply affecting farewell of his companions in arms, with whom he had passed through so many trying scenes and vicissitudes. On the 23d, he repaired to Annapolis, then the seat of congress, into

* Marshall, vol. iv. pp. 645-663, 672.

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whose hands he resigned his commission, and retired finally, as he believed and wished, into private life.

The Union was thus delivered from any imminent danger; yet it lay in a helpless, inert, distracted state, unable to command either tranquillity at home or respect abroad. The small remnant of regard for the authority of congress, which had survived while there was any sense of peril, entirely ceased. Its members in vain urged the state assemblies to agree to a common duty on imports and exports, and to such general regulations of trade as might afford a basis for a commercial treaty. The mercantile states imagined that these measures would operate upon them unequally; and New York, the centre of this interest, absolutely refused its concurrence. Congress had power to make treaties, but not to enforce their observance; to contract debts, but not to pay them. Early in 1783, they drew up a plan for meeting at least the interest of the national debt; and Washington hesitated not to write to the several governors, urging in the strongest terms its adoption. Some impression was at first made; but the states soon relapsed into their habitual indifference. During fourteen months, there were paid into the public treasury only 482,890 dollars; and the foreign interest was only defrayed by a fresh loan made in Holland. There was, indeed, a party throughout the confederation, zealous to support the central authority, and to maintain public credit; but another and powerful one arose, hostile to the former and indifferent to the latter. They began even to cherish an indisposition to pay any taxes whatever, or to place themselves at all under legal restraint. Conventions were formed, under whose direction mobs broke into the court-houses and dispersed the judges. Hence, not only public securities were reduced to a trifling value, but private property was greatly depreciated, from the uncertainty of protection.

It is remarkable that the centre of this lawless spirit should have been in New England. It prevailed there among a majority of the active young cultivators,

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with whom a theory became popular, that, having all contributed to defend the national property, they had all an equal right to its possession. In New Hampshire, a body of malecontents entered Exeter and made prisoners the general assembly of the state. The citizens, however, rose and crushed the movement in a few hours. A much stronger body in Massachusetts took possession of the court-house, first at Northampton, and then at Worcester. All conciliatory measures having been vainly tried, the governor with difficulty raised funds chiefly among the citizens of Boston, called out 4000 militia, and placed them under General Lincoln. Before his arrival, however, a daring leader, Daniel Shays, with 1100 followers, marched to attack the arsenal; but General Sheppard had assembled a force for its defence, and on the approach of the insurgents, being unable to intimidate them either by threats or by firing over their heads, he ordered a real discharge, by which three were killed, when the rest fled precipitately. They continued in arms, however, till Lincoln came up, when they retreated and endeavoured to negotiate for delay. He rejected all their overtures; and, pressing rapidly forward, obliged them to disperse in every direction. Their leaders either fled the territory, or fell into his hands. Fourteen were condemned to death, but afterwards pardoned.*

The heads of the revolution beheld with deep concern this abortive result of so many efforts; their country distracted at home, disgraced abroad. Yet it was difficult to discover any remedy which would be practicable, and consistent with their principles. Chance led them on. Washington had contemplated with great interest a plan for uniting the Potomac and the Ohio, and thus connecting the eastern and western waters. He made a journey of 680 miles on horseback, taking minute notes of every thing which could be subvervient to this

* Marshall, vol. v. pp. 40, 47, 68, 99, &c., 121, &c., 141, &c. Willard, p. 275.

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project. His influence, and the real importance of the design, induced the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland to send commissioners to Alexandria to deliberate on the subject. They met in March 1785, and having spent some time at Mount Vernon, determined to recommend another commission, which might establish a general tariff on imports. The Virginian legislature not only agreed, but invited the other states to send deputies to meet at Annapolis. In September 1786, they had arrived from five only, and with too limited powers. A number of able statesmen, however, were thus assembled, who, feeling deeply the depressed and distracted state of the country, became sensible that something on a much greater scale was necessary to raise her to prosperity, and give her a due place among the nations. They drew up a report and address to all the provincial assemblies, strongly representing the inefficiency of the present federal government, and earnestly urging them to send delegates to meet at Philadelphia in May 1787. Congress in February passed resolutions recommending this measure, of which, however, they did not perhaps anticipate all the results.

The states very readily responded to this call; and at the appointed time the delegates from all except one had assembled. Never perhaps had any body of men combined for so great a purpose—to form a constitution which was to rule so numerous a people, and probably during so many ages. The members, consisting of the ablest men in America, were not unworthy of nor unfit for so great a trust. Washington, who appeared at the head of the Virginian deputation, was unanimously elected president of the whole. They had been appointed merely to revise the articles of confederation; yet they had not deliberated long, when they determined that the existing congress must be entirely thrown overboard. The question, however, what was to be substituted in its place, was one of extreme difficulty.*

* Sparks, vol. i. p. 409-429. Pitkin, vol. ii. pp. 218, 225.

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On the 29th May, Edmund Randolph, an eminent Virginian statesman, submitted a series of resolutions, embodying the plan of a new constitution. He proposed to form a general government, which should have a legislature, executive, and judiciary; a revenue, army, and navy, all entirely independent of the states. It was to conduct peace, war, treaties, and all national transactions. This plan met with general favour; yet a considerable body insisted that it involved too mighty a change; that they were delegated to improve the existing system, not to extinguish it, and substitute one entirely new. Mr Patterson of New Jersey submitted another, enlarging the powers of congress, attaching to it an executive and judiciary, yet leaving its resources and supplies to be procured through the medium of the state governments. This was considered as retaining still the feature by which it was rendered necessarily inefficient. Being put to the vote on the 19th June, it was supported, indeed, by New York, New Jersey, and Delaware; but seven states gave a complete negative.

The opposition to Mr Randolph's resolutions being thus overcome, a committee, composed of himself and four others, was appointed to reduce them into the form of a constitution. On the 6th August, they submitted a draft of one, which was the subject of long deliberation, and underwent many important alterations. In this and the former debate the main contest lay between the great and the small states, the former demanding a weight proportioned to their population and resources, the latter contending that they would be thus overwhelmed and oppressed. The struggle was severe, and matters seemed once at a complete stand, when a committee was appointed, which in three days suggested a compromise. The house of representatives was to be proportioned to the population; but in the senate each state was to have an equal vote. This was carried by a considerable majority. A difficult question also arose respecting the slaves in the southern states, to whom no vote was allowed; but who, it was contended, formed

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an essential element in the power and resources of these communities. A compromise was made: three-fourths of them, under the title of "other persons," were to be added to the list upon which the number of representative members was to be apportioned.

On the 8th of September, Messrs Johnson, Hamilton, Morris, Madison, and King, were named a committee "to revise the style and arrange the articles." It was presented by them on the 12th; yet the convention continued making amendments to the very last day. The result was on the whole very different from that originally contemplated. Having arisen, however, out of collision and compromise between all the different interests that divided the country, it had probably been rendered more safe and practicable.*

On the 17th September, this grand question came finally under decision. The constitution was then signed by thirty-nine of the fifty-five members, being more than two-thirds of the whole number. It was next submitted to congress, and by them transmitted to the provincial legislatures, who were invited to call conventions to take it into consideration. The stipulation was, that it should come into operation as soon as the ratification of nine states had been obtained; but this was an object of considerable difficulty. In 1787, it was adopted in conventions unanimously by Georgia, New Jersey, and Delaware, and by large majorities in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland, and South Carolina. Two, however, were still wanting before it could be acted on, whence the Massachusetts convention, which met in the beginning of 1788, was viewed with intense interest. Its fate there appeared doubtful, from local feelings and recent discontents. Hancock, who had been so conspicuous through the revolution, strenuously opposed it without the admission of certain proposed amendments by which state rights might be more fully guarded. It was supported with the utmost eloquence by Fisher Ames, and

* Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 225-262.

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finally carried by the small majority of 187 to 168. In New Hampshire, the greater number of delegates came instructed to vote against it; but after an adjournment, a majority of eleven was at last procured.

The requisite number of nine had thus been obtained; yet there were still wanting the important states of Virginia, New York, and North Carolina, without which it could scarcely be brought into action. In the first the contest was long and fervid, and the displays of oratory are said to have been the most splendid ever yet made in America. Randolph and Madison took the lead in support of the measure, while Patrick Henry assailed it with eloquence almost unrivalled. He denounced it as a revolution more radical than that which had separated America from Britain. The convention had been delegated solely to amend the old federation, instead of which they had formed a great consolidated government, vesting in it the whole prerogative, and leaving to the states merely the poor laws, roads, bridges, and other trifling concerns. In the warmth of debate, he seemed to threaten resistance if the motion were carried; yet at last declared that even then he would remain a peaceful citizen, only devoting his head, his hand, his heart, to obtain redress in a constitutional manner. The measure was finally carried by eighty-eight to eighty. New York, thus left nearly alone, could only persevere at the cost of throwing herself entirely out of the Union. Yet though the measure was supported by Jay, Hamilton, and Livingston, statesmen of the highest character, it was carried only by a majority of five, and with the demand of most extensive amendments.*

Ample ground was now afforded for putting the new constitution in movement, and the question arose, who was first to act as chief magistrate. All its friends agreed in looking to Washington as the individual, whose weight of character and reputation would unite all suffrages, and whose steady judgment would

* Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 262-281.

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guide the vessel amid the difficulties in which it must for some time be involved. Of this general feeling he was soon apprized; yet he seems to have felt the most deep and unfeigned reluctance to undertake the task. He even declared, in a letter to General Lincoln, that it would be the greatest sacrifice of personal feelings and wishes that he had ever been called upon to make. He cherished a strong partiality for a life of rural retirement, and could hope no higher reputation than that already attained, which would even be endangered by placing himself in a new and untried situation. Having publicly renounced political life, he dreaded the reproach of inconsistency, and doubted not that, while making a reluctant sacrifice, he would be supposed to act from the mere impulse of vulgar ambition. His friends, however, urged that he could not possibly resist the general call. Colonel Hamilton, a statesman of the highest character, wrote a series of letters, representing that his aid was indispensable,—without it the new system could have no fair trial; that having gone so far in its support, he was pledged and could not recede without dishonour; in short, that no option was left. After this correspondence, though not giving an absolute consent, he seems never to have seriously hesitated.

Owing to various delays, the house of representatives did not meet till the 20th March 1789, nor the senate till the 6th April following. In that body, the votes for the president, being examined, were found all, without a single exception, to have been given in favour of Washington. There was something peculiarly grand in this unanimous consent of a great nation in favour of a man distinguished only by solid merit, without the brilliant qualities which usually attract popular admiration. The possession of one whose merit crushed all dissent, was referred to by Adams, who had been named vice-president, as a special blessing of Providence on this first opening of the Union. A messenger was immediately despatched to Washington at Mount Vernon, and having probably formed his resolution, he at once ac-

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General Washington.

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cepted the high office. Yet in an address to the citizens of Alexandria, he declared himself unable to describe his painful emotions on the occasion, and to a confidential friend compared them to those of a culprit going to execution. His progress to Philadelphia, however, resembled a triumph; he was escorted by parties of militia, and welcomed by crowds of spectators. The bridge over the Schuylkill was studiously decorated, an arch of laurel formed for him to pass under, a civic crown dropped on his head, and at night the city was illuminated.

On the 30th April, the new president, with considerable pomp, and in presence of a vast concourse of people, took the oath of office. He then proceeded to the senate, and in a sensible and pious address, without specifying any particular measure, explained the general principles that were to guide his conduct. He intimated, as formerly, his intention to decline the emoluments of the office, limiting himself to the repayment of his necessary expenses. The senate made a most cordial reply, in which they said,—"In you all parties confide; in you all interests unite; and we have no doubt that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions." The answer of the house of representatives was in a tone equally gratifying.*

The most urgent consideration in congress was the raising of a revenue by duties on imported goods. The necessity of this measure had been fully agreed upon by a majority of the states; yet there arose many opinions and conflicting interests as to the articles and the amount. The proposition to make a difference between those in foreign and native bottoms was objected to as favouring the shipping in preference to the agricultural interest. It was, however, carried to a certain extent; but another for a distinction in favour of those powers which had concluded commercial treaties with the states, after being passed in the lower house, was negatived in the senate.

Another very urgent object was the organization and

* Marshall, vol. v. p. 164-201.

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filling of the public departments. It was determined that there should be three,—of the treasury, of war, and of foreign affairs, with a secretary at the head of each. The constitution had provided that the nomination should rest with the president, subject to the approbation of the senate; but in the course of debate, a question arose, whether the former by his single power should be able to remove these officers. It was strongly urged that such a prerogative would raise his power to an exorbitant height, and enable him to do great injustice to deserving individuals. It was answered, that the person raised by the people to so high a station could not reasonably be supposed capable of such misconduct; and that in thus acting, he would expose himself to impeachment. The motion was carried in the lower house by a majority of 34 to 20, but in the senate only by the casting vote of the vice-president. The personal confidence placed in Washington is supposed to have been the chief cause of this privilege being intrusted to the chief magistrate; and the predictions of its never being used for political purposes or with hardship to individuals have not been fulfilled, nor have the expected remedies ever been applied.

The president, thus empowered to form a cabinet, proceeded to that delicate task with his usual strict integrity and simple regard for the public good. He had refused to give any pledge in answer to numerous applications on the subject, and thus reserved himself perfectly unbiassed. The treasury, the department of most immediate importance, was intrusted to Colonel Hamilton. This choice was founded upon a long intimacy with that eminent statesman, and was fully justified by his performance of its duties; yet it proved a somewhat troublous one, as respected the president himself. Hamilton had embraced with ardour those opinions which might be termed ultra-federal, being believed to have desired a stronger government, and one more nearly approximating to the British, than the other framers would consent to; he is even supposed to have de-

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sired a senate and president for life. Disappointed in these views, he lent himself frankly and cordially to promote the working of the adopted system; yet his measures bore always a stamp of his real sentiments; and as the public feeling soon began to run in an opposite direction, he became more and more unpopular. The next step was to give the department of foreign affairs to Mr Jefferson, who had been absent five years on diplomatic missions, in which he had highly distinguished himself, and proved indeed eminently qualified to conduct this department. But he embraced, to an extent not then known or probably fully developed, the political system most opposite to that of Hamilton. Becoming always more attached to it, he acquired thereby a large share of popular favour, but introduced violent dissensions into the cabinet. General Knox was continued at the head of the war department, which he had previously held. These three officers were understood to form a cabinet, whose opinion, either verbal or written, the president could require upon any subject; but they were allowed no control over his decision.

The next object of consideration for congress was the amendments proposed by New York and Virginia. These states attached to them such importance, that they had given their reluctant consent to the constitution only in the hope of their adoption. Mr Madison accordingly brought forward twelve; but which were in fact rather evasions than fulfilments of the demands of his constituents. They consisted chiefly in provisions for the security of personal rights; the only one having the desired tendency being a stipulation that every power not expressly delegated to the united government was reserved to the states. The advocates of the amendments treated with the utmost indignation this virtual rejection of their claims, and the refusal to call a convention to deliberate upon the subject. Even while admitting Mr Madison's proposals to be so far good, they opposed their adoption as a mere opiate to divert the public mind from the call for more substantial benefits.

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It was therefore through the exertions of the federal party itself, that the articles, as the constitution required, were referred to the states. The latter were very ill satisfied; but the popularity of the united government was so strong and growing, that they were obliged to smother their chagrin, and give up any farther resistance.*

After a course of proceedings generally approved by the nation, congress rose on the 29th September. The second session met in January 1790, and was distinguished by a grand financial plan submitted by Hamilton. The public debt of the Union was stated at fifty-four millions of dollars, of which eleven and three quarters were foreign, chiefly due to France and Holland; and there were besides twenty-five millions owing by the different states. It was proposed to fund this whole amount, and make provision for the payment of the interest, with a sinking fund for its gradual liquidation. This plan, in its successive provisions, met with the most pertinacious opposition. The system was altogether objected to by some as giving to the debt a more permanent character, and as having involved the governments of the old world in deep embarrassment. It was easy to show that, funded or unfunded, the debt must be paid, while in the former shape it could be dealt with much more easily, and on better terms. Many, however, contended, that a reduction ought to be made on its amount. Through the low state of public credit, it had mostly passed from the original holders to speculative purchasers, who had obtained it at a very low rate (even of 2s. 6d. in the pound), and would make an exorbitant profit if, beyond expectation, they should receive payment in full. It was urged on the other side that the value had been received, that the national honour was pledged, and its credit was gone if it refused fulfilment. Mr Madison, however, made a motion which met with great favour, that the purchasers should receive the high-

* Marshall, vol. v. p. 220-247. Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 325-337.

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est price which government paper had borne in the market, and the difference be paid to the original lender. It was admitted by his opponents that the latter had suffered severe hardship; yet the original contract making the money payable to assignees or bearer, would thus be violated. The very principle of the issue was to be transferable; it would be both impracticable and ruinous to public credit for government to open afresh transactions between individuals. The motion was lost by a great majority.

The most strenuous contest, however, arose respecting the assumption by the general government of the debts contracted by the particular states. These, it was argued, had been incurred to defray the expense of the great contest which was common to all; chiefly too by those on whose soil the military operations had been waged, and who in other respects had thereby suffered. Massachusetts, in particular, had borne the first brunt of the war, and had provided the necessary resources before any congress was organized to which she could look for aid. The consequence however was, that the distribution was very unequal, and those states whose amount was small, were not much inclined to assume an equal share of the general burden. One or two, as Virginia, which by great efforts had paid off a considerable part, seemed to have particular ground of complaint. After a long and animated debate of several days, it was carried in the representatives, but by a very narrow majority. Immediately after, North Carolina having acceded to the Union, her deputies came in and turned the scale. By a majority of two voices, the resolution was recommitted, and afterwards negatived. Its advocates, however, continued the struggle, and a compromise was at last effected, by which the amount was reduced to twenty-one millions, and assumed in specific proportions from the different states. The claims of Massachusetts and South Carolina, which amounted to more than ten millions and a half, were thus reduced to four millions each. In this shape it at

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length passed both houses by very small majorities. The whole of Hamilton's plan was thus carried with some slight modification, and is now generally acknowledged to have been wise and politic; indeed its good effects were speedily evident. Yet all its provisions were in the interest of the central government; and it required an extent of impost to which the Americans were not well prepared to submit. Having indeed undertaken the war with a special view to escape taxation, they could not but severely feel the result of being obliged to pay ten times the amount ever demanded by the mother-country. Virginia passed resolutions strongly censuring the measure; the first step of that nature taken by any state legislature.*

Undismayed by this opposition, Hamilton proceeded, in the third session, to complete the circle of his financial operations. The most delicate part still remained, of imposing new taxes to defray the interest of the debt. A general assent had been given; yet when the specific objects came to be fixed, they pressed painfully upon various interests. Additional duties on imported goods were admitted as following of course; but they would not yield the requisite amount without an addition of £200,000, proposed to be levied on distilled spirits. The tax was unexceptionable, and any other would in fact have been more odious; yet it could be branded with the hateful title of excise, and affected an indulgence to which the western settlers especially were strongly addicted. The states, too, viewed with much jealousy this intrusion into their internal concerns of a power considered almost as foreign. Four, in the course of its discussion, passed resolutions against it. This did not prevent its being passed by a large majority; yet a military force was in some places necessary to carry it into execution.

Hamilton followed it up with the plan of a national bank for aiding the operations of government. The

* Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 337-345. Marshall, vol. v. p. 272-314.

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contest upon this subject in the legislature was still more severe. Such an institution was said not only to be of doubtful utility, but to be beyond the powers granted by the constitution to the general government. In fact no mention had been made of a right to vest peculiar privileges in this or indeed any corporation. In reply, it was represented as promising the greatest advantages, while, being necessary, or at least highly useful in relation to other powers specially granted, it might be considered as implied in them. The measure was carried by nineteen votes; yet being presented to the president for his sanction, he found his cabinet completely divided, Hamilton and Knox advising him to approve, Jefferson and Randolph to exercise his veto. He called for written opinions from them; and those of Hamilton and Jefferson on opposite sides are considered as having exhausted the subject. After full consideration, he decided on giving his sanction to the bill.*

Hamilton had thus carried all his measures, yet not without exposing himself to considerable odium. Two parties had now been regularly formed, and worked up to great mutual exasperation. The original opposition to the Union had nearly ceased; its advantages both to the dignity and interests of the nation were generally admitted. Even the terms of the constitution were no longer arraigned; but wherever they left room for any doubt, each faction eagerly urged its own interpretation. What made this contest strongly felt, was its raging in the heart of the cabinet, the two leading members of which, politically and personally opposed, accused each other, one as an advocate of high prerogative and even of monarchy, the other as a democrat and anarchist. The mind of Washington moved in a sphere generally superior to party. While sanctioning the measures of Hamilton, he blamed his violence, and being unwilling to part with his antagonist, whose official conduct was meritorious, he earnestly, but vainly, remonstrated

* Marshall, vol. v. p. 336-346. Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 347-350.

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with both, seeking to soften their extreme hostility. Upon the whole, he himself, being considered justly as not mixing in the strife of faction, incurred little odium, and was still looked up to with veneration by both parties.*

In March 1791, the first congress terminated, and another was elected, in which the federal party still maintained a majority. The opening session was chiefly distinguished by Washington's first exercise of the veto. A census having been taken in 1790, by which the population appeared to be nearly four millions, congress were called upon to apportion accordingly the number of deputies. They made such a distribution, that in some cases the proportion fixed by the constitution of 1 in 30,000 was exceeded. Here too the cabinet was divided; but the president, now following Jefferson's advice, objected to the measure, and the houses acquiesced. Next session, it was necessary to impose some new taxes, and the question arose, whether those appropriated to the national debt should be permanent, as recommended by the secretary to the treasury, or should require an annual vote. The latter course was strongly supported by the popular interest, and lost only by the casting vote of the speaker. The same body afterwards brought forward a series of charges against Hamilton's official conduct, to which the press fiercely responded; yet they were successfully refuted, and negatived by large majorities.†

Early in 1793, the critical period arrived of the close of Washington's first term of office. He seems to have felt as before an unfeigned anxiety to return into private life; but all the leading men, even Jefferson among the foremost, urged in the strongest terms the duty of remaining. The tendencies to anarchy appeared still so strong as to be checked only by the weight of his character and influence. A unanimous re-election indicated that the feelings of the people towards him

* Marshall, vol. v. p. 455.
† Ibid. vol. v. pp. 382, 407, 450. Sparks, vol. ii. p. 33-39.

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had undergone no change. Adams, however, as vice-president, was opposed by Governor Clinton of New York, and gained the appointment only by 77 votes to 50. Besides the violent internal conflict, a formidable Indian war had for some time been raging, and in the negotiations with the European powers difficulties had arisen, aggravated by the breaking out of the revolution in France. We must now look back to take a connected view of these important objects.

It is painful to observe, that the Indians always regarded the "Big Knives," or, as they afterwards termed them, the "Thirteen United Fires," with the bitterest enmity. In the last war they had taken a decided part with the British, who incurred thereby reproaches not always perhaps unmerited; yet urged with little right by their opponents, who had themselves made overtures, which were peremptorily rejected. Even the most candid American historians throw almost the whole blame upon that unfortunate race. Official documents, however, to be presently referred to, honestly admit, that they were at least as much sinned against as sinning. The general government, indeed, appears to have desired to treat them with justice and humanity; but they could not control the numerous and fierce body of back-settlers, who took the lead in the new states of Kentucky and Georgia. General Knox admits that the intercourse between those of the former state and the Indians was one of reciprocal outrage, demanding "a critical investigation to discover on which side the greatest wrongs were committed." The regular system seems to have been, whenever any settlers were killed, for a party to set out and slay the first Indians they met, without any inquiry whether they were of the guilty tribe. Knox mentions a party of Kentuckians who made an inroad into the Wabash territory, and killed a number of Piankeshaws, a tribe who prided themselves on their attachment to the United States; but he observes that all bearing the name of Indians were objects of aversion. Afterwards, when fair prospects of peace had arisen, they were in-

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terrupted by Captain Beard crossing the Tennessee and killing a number of friendly Indians; but the report states such a *prejudice* to exist on the frontier, that the deed must be left unpunished. In other quarters, two men having been slain and scalped by a body of Creeks, the militia set out, overtook, and killed twelve Indians, but presently discovered that they belonged to a different tribe from the murderers. Yet, when its chief demanded the leader of the expedition, the reporter declares that his blood "runs warm in his veins" at the idea, and calls rather for further chastisement. Hence we cannot disbelieve the Indian complaint, that one after another of their best families was killed, and no punishment ever followed. A letter appears from the Tennessee chiefs, Cornplanter, New-arrow, and Big-tree, to General Knox, complaining that several of their best and perfectly innocent countrymen had been murdered by Captain Brady of the States service. They add: "We hope you will not suffer all the good people to be killed; but your people are killing them as fast as they can." They complain elsewhere of the bitter hatred with which they are regarded, and of being considered as "animals fit only to be exterminated." Indeed, we find Washington at a later period candidly stating as "an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violence of the lawless part of our frontier inhabitants are insufficient. It is demonstrated that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity." There is no doubt that they, too, were often the aggressors, and that their retaliation was terrible; yet we find several parties of commissioners stating, that they discovered a disposition to cultivate amicable relations, which prudent measures might have rendered effectual. Another grievous circumstance to them was the loss of their lands, which they were induced by present temptations to agree to, but afterwards bitterly felt and repented. A Cherokee chief complains that whenever an interview was asked, under whatever pretext, this

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was always the real object. They must part with no more hunting-grounds—they must perish to a man in their defence. Cornplanter complains that he and others incurred this reproach, being asked: "Brothers of our fathers, where is the place which you have reserved for us to lie down upon?" and he adds: "We must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till." The government sanctioned no means of acquisition except purchase; yet it is admitted that many of its subjects unjustly extended their surveys, and hunted in the very heart of the Indian territory.*

The general government was doubtless thus placed in a very painful condition,—unable to control the violence of the border militia, yet in a manner obliged to aid in the protection of its people. The Indians were encouraged by their former alliance with the British, who still retained their western posts, though disavowing, seemingly with truth, that they now fomented any hostile movement. The Spaniards also, indignant at the loss of the Mississippi territory, carried on secret intrigues among them. Yet they seem to have been overawed by the formation of the "Thirteen United Fires;" and in 1788 a negotiation was opened with the northern tribes. In October, Mr Wynn held a friendly conference with their great chiefs; and on the 9th January 1789, a treaty was concluded at Fort Harmar, embracing the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Sacs, and Pottawatomies. On the 7th August 1790, another was entered into with the southern nation of the Creeks. They were by these treaties secured in the possession of their present lands, only engaging not to sell them to any other nation except the States; they were even allowed, if no injury was done, to hunt on grounds belonging to the latter. Mutual wrongs were to be redressed, not by retaliation, but by appeal to the proper authorities. There

* American State Papers (Indian), vol. i. pp. 13, 21, 31, 47, 205, 207, 363, fol. Washington, 1832. Presidents' Messages, pp. 45, 46.

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remained, however, fierce tribes on the Miami and the Wabash, between whom and the Kentuckians there had long raged "war to the knife," from which little prospect appeared of either party desisting. In these circumstances, General Knox, while admitting the wrongs to be quite mutual, very coolly lays down the alternative of either extirpating or making peace with these tribes. Happily, the motives of justice and humanity were reinforced by those of national character, and by the still more cogent one that there did not exist means of effecting the extirpation. The Union had only 600 regular troops, and the finances would not support above 2500 of every description, a number inadequate to the object. Orders were therefore sent to stop if possible the inroads of the Kentuckians, and to make overtures to the savages. Both attempts having proved abortive, no alternative remained but to make war with the best means in their power.*

In September 1790, General Harmar was sent forward with 320 regulars, who, being reinforced by the militia of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, formed a corps of 1453 men. The Indians on his approach set fire to their villages; but this was nothing, unless they could be brought to an engagement. Harmar, however, instead of advancing himself with the main body, sent forward Colonel Harden, with 210 men, of whom only 30 were regulars. They were attacked; the militia fled; the others were nearly cut off, including a gallant youth, son to General Scott. The general then sent forward Harden with 360 men, who speedily encountered another large body. After a brave contest, in which this party lost nearly half their number, they retreated on the main body. Harmar claimed the victory, on what ground Marshall owns it is difficult to discern. His conduct in keeping behind and encountering the enemy with these small detachments seems most unaccountable; yet, on being tried by a court-martial, he was acquitted.

* American State Papers (Indian), vol. i. pp. 6, 7, 13, 47, 58.

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To retrieve this failure, Washington obtained authority to raise 2000 men for six months' service; not likely to constitute a very efficient force. From various difficulties it could not be forwarded till the end of 1791, when it was placed under General St Clair, governor of the western territory. The object was to destroy the settlements on the Miami, and expel the natives from that district. St Clair, with 1400 men, advanced on the 3d November to the vicinity of these villages, where he took post to await reinforcements. Before sunrise next day the troops were roused by the sound of the Indian war-cry; the enemy were in the camp, and in a few minutes had penetrated throughout, and even to the rear. Invisible death continued to pour in from every side; the assailants, stretched on the ground, or lurking behind trees, were seen only as they sprung from one covert to another. As usual, a number of the militia fled, when the others, with broken ranks, bore the whole brunt, and the officers, who were veteran and brave, became fatally exposed. Several charges were made with the bayonet; but in this scene of confusion they could not be effectively followed up. St Clair at length saw no alternative but to order a retreat, which was effected in the utmost confusion. His loss amounted to 631 killed, among whom were General Butler and 37 other officers, and 263 wounded. Yet by a committee of inquiry in congress he was fully acquitted, which we cannot but think another instance of extreme leniency, since it seems impossible to consider him as having taken due precaution against surprise.*

This intelligence fell like a thunderbolt upon the government, which had already to struggle against a strong spirit of discontent. It was easy to foresee, what indeed immediately ensued, that all the treaties would be dissolved, and a general savage confederacy formed against the United States. Washington, im-

* Marshall, vol. v. pp. 363, 389-397.

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pressed with the necessity of having some kind of regular force, proposed to raise three regiments of infantry for three years, which, with a squadron of cavalry, would give a total of 5000. The opposition strongly objected, arraigning the origin of the war, insisting that it should now be purely defensive, and that the border militia were the best fitted for it,—a most delusive idea, when their conduct had been its chief cause. The motion was carried; but such a strong desire of peace was manifested, that Washington, though with scarcely a hope of success, sent two distinguished officers with proposals; but both were unhappily murdered by the savages. The Miami and Wabash Indians opened communications with all the tribes that had entered into the treaty at Fort Harmar, and even with part of the Creeks and Cherokees. A meeting was held of sixteen nations, in which it was determined to accept of no terms short of making the Ohio the boundary between them and the States.

Though St Clair had been acquitted, he was not continued in the command; his place being supplied by General Wayne. That officer, however, could not fully bring forward his strength till the summer of 1794. He then, with 2600 regulars and 1029 mounted militia, advanced along the Miami. On the 7th July, Major M'Mahon, occupying a fortified post, was attacked by a strong body, who were repulsed; yet they rallied, and kept up a fire during the whole day. He lost 22 killed and 30 wounded, four of the former being officers. Wayne now pushed forward upon their main fort of Grand Glaize, which he reached on the 8th August. It had been precipitately abandoned the preceding evening, and, he believes, would have been surprised had not a deserter from his own army given warning. He then advanced upon the main body, drawn up at six miles distance under cover of a British fort. Major Price, commanding his vanguard, was driven back, but the troops soon after came in view of the enemy.

They held a position well fitted for their peculiar

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warfare, being within a thick wood, encumbered with felled trees; and their line, in three divisions, within supporting distance, extended two miles. Wayne had the sagacity to discover, that against this enemy, so posted, a regular fire in line would be wholly ineffective. He directed his troops to march through the wood with trailed arms, then with the bayonet rouse the enemy from their covert, and when they were up, pour in a close, well-directed fire, followed up by a brisk charge. The cavalry, in two bodies, under General Scott and Captain Campbell, were, by a circuitous route, to come on their right and left flanks. The attack, however, made by the foremost line according to the above directions, was attended with such immediate success, that the second line and the cavalry only partially came into action. The enemy were dislodged from their position, and driven in confusion through the woods, till they found shelter under the guns of the English fort. The American loss, however, was greater than seems quite to accord with so very easy a victory, amounting to 33 killed, and 100 wounded of whom 11 died. An angry correspondence followed between Wayne and the British commander; the former complaining that he should hold a fortified position there at all, and afford shelter to the Indians; while the latter replies that he occupied the place by orders of his government, and that Wayne had broken the laws of war by advancing within pistol fire, when he ought not to have come nearer than cannon shot.*

Wayne now laid waste the country, destroying the villages for fifty miles on each side of the Miami; then returned to Grand Glaize, and began fortifying his positions. Though his triumph deterred many tribes from joining the cause, the main enemy remained in arms, while his own forces were mouldering away,

* American State Papers (Indian), vol. i. p. 356-360; 487-494. Marshall, vol. v. p. 647-652. The latter gives a different number of killed and wounded; but the above is from Wayne's official despatch.

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through the unhappy system of temporary enlistment. The militia ought to have remained till the 14th November; but by the middle of October they were seized, he says, with such violent symptoms of homesickness, that it became necessary to dismiss them. The legion was reduced to a skeleton; and by May next, the period of service for all would expire. The forts were becoming tolerably strong, but were in great danger of being left without garrisons; so that unless extraordinary exertions were made to reinforce the army, it would have fought, bled, and conquered in vain. Secretary Pickering was thus obliged to give to congress the unwelcome intimation, that an additional force would be necessary, even to maintain a defensive attitude. The Indians, however, appear to have been stunned by the blow, and by seeing, doubtless, that there was a method by which they could be vanquished. A number moved westward, and some even crossed the Mississippi. They were probably finally determined by the evacuation of all the western forts by Britain in June 1795. On the 16th, four chiefs came and presented the calumet of peace, and were followed, on the 3d July, by a more numerous deputation, all declaring their desire of a treaty with the Fifteen Fires. Their reception was courteous; two forfeited lives of their countrymen were spared; and the negotiation, proceeding with the most favourable disposition, terminated in the treaty of Greenville, in which ten nations were included. A considerable cession of land was required; in other respects, the terms were the same as on former occasions.*

About the same time, the Union was agitated by trouble from another quarter. We have already observed, that the duty on distilled spirits had excited strong dissatisfaction, particularly in the border districts. The four western counties of Pennsylvania took the lead, and were then in so rude a state, that the law could be but imperfectly enforced. The disturbance

* American State Papers (Indian), vol. i. pp. 525, 547, 564-566.

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commenced with a strong expression of opinions hostile to the measure, and reprobation of those who accepted any office in the collection of the revenue. At a meeting held on the 23d August 1791, the acceptors were declared enemies of their country, and resolutions passed to hold no communication with them. On the 7th September, delegates were named to carry on a regular opposition. Several persons employed in the collection, or even letting a house for the purpose, were tarred, feathered, and their hair cut off; nor were they released but on a promise not to repeat such heinous offences. Attempts were made to gain the malecontents by lenient measures, and even by modifications introduced into the act; but they were thus only rendered more daring, and at length organized a regular resistance not only to this law, but to the whole authority of the United States. In the summer of 1794, the marshal, attempting to execute a process, was assailed by an armed party of thirty or forty, and being taken prisoner, was compelled by threats of immediate death to promise never to repeat such a step. In July, a band advanced to the house of Melville, the inspector, and though repulsed, soon came back, reinforced to the amount of 500. Having in vain demanded admittance, they attacked the building, and, with the loss of one killed and three wounded, finally carried and set it on fire. The marshal and inspector had fled, and, by a circuitous route down the Ohio, reached Washington. The malecontents next stopped and opened the mails, thus discovering the persons hostile to their views, whom they obliged also to quit the territory. Washington felt extreme distress at these events, being most unwilling to array citizen against citizen, and publish the dishonour of such excesses. The object, too, could only be effected by a call upon the neighbouring states for a large militia force, and considerable doubts were felt as to their obedience. His cabinet agreed, however, that no choice was left; and notice was given for this force to be in readiness, while commissioners endeavoured

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to treat with the insurgents. They found the men of property and intelligence, though they had kindled the flame, alarmed at the extent to which it had spread, yet unable to control it. Sixty of them formed a committee of safety; and, after a conference, decided, by a majority of 34 to 23, that it was the interest of the people to accept the proposals of government. They durst not, however, make the agreement final without an appeal to the people. Persons of character in each district were named to take the sense of the public. Many, however, were found hostile; Pittsburg alone was quite favourable; and in Washington, the agreement was made only in confidence of repeal. On the whole, there appeared no prospect of obtaining any regular obedience to the laws. Washington, seeing no alternative, called upon the states of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey, to furnish 15,000 militia. Anxiety had been felt as to the result; but these states, though somewhat discontented on this and on other grounds, made scarcely any hesitation in enforcing the authority of the general government. The troops, commanded by the governor of Virginia, advanced in two columns into the disturbed territory. The number had been made so large, in the hope that, by overpowering all attempts at opposition, it might save bloodshed. This was happily fulfilled; no resistance was attempted; the ringleaders either fled, or were taken and treated with lenity.*

By this time foreign affairs had become of engrossing importance; and we must here take a considerable retrospect, having reserved the subject to be treated in a consecutive manner. Britain was of course the power whose enmity was most to be dreaded. In fact, there soon arose serious differences as to the execution of several points in the late treaty. The articles relating

* American State Papers (Miscellaneous), vol. i. pp. 88-90, 106-112. Marshall, p. 665, &c. Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 422, &c. Presidents' Messages, p. 39.

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to the payment of debts and the restitution of property rested chiefly with the states, who paid no greater regard to the demands of the present congress than to those of the former. Not only did they neglect the required means of implementing their obligations, but they passed acts of a directly opposite tendency. Britain, in retaliation, withheld the surrender of the western forts,—a circumstance peculiarly distressing from the encouragement it afforded to Indian hostility. John Adams, one of the most eminent statesmen of the revolution, was therefore sent, in 1785, on a mission to London. He was well received, and introduced to the king, who, in answer to a very courteous speech, declared his desire to cultivate friendship with the United States. "I wish you, sir," said he, "to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power." When, however, Adams addressed a memorial to Lord Carmarthen, secretary of state, demanding the delivery of the forts, he was met by a statement of infractions committed on the part of the United States, and assured, that when these were redressed, the treaty would be fully executed. Unable to repel the allegations, he could merely undertake to transmit them to congress. No disposition was shown, as had been hoped, to conclude a commercial treaty, or to send a minister in return. The cabinet seems to have considered the American government as in a disunited state, likely for a long time to be a prey to anarchy, and destitute of political consideration.*

This report was made to congress, who could not deny the charges; but the blame rested with the states, who

* Pitkin, vol. ii. pp. 193-197, 199, 200.

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were earnestly solicited to rescind such of their acts as obstructed the execution of the treaty; but to this request they paid only their usual partial and imperfect attention. The affair thus remained in a precarious state, and irritation continued to ferment in the minds of the people. On the formation of the united government, Washington anxiously contemplated the opening of more regular and satisfactory communications; but unwilling to commit the national dignity by a direct overture, he engaged Governor Morris, in whom he greatly confided, and who happened to be in England on his private affairs, quietly to sound the cabinet. While professing friendly dispositions, however, the British government repeated the former complaints, representing the losses thereby sustained as greater than could now admit of redress, and showing no disposition to surrender the western posts, which they were suspected of desiring to retain with a view to the fur trade. Thus the relation between the two nations continued unsatisfactory and precarious. Not long after, however, Mr Hammond was sent out as plenipotentiary, and arrived in October 1791, when Major Pinkney was deputed in the same character to the court of London. A regular diplomatic intercourse was thus established between the two powers.*

Spain, though the ally of America during the great contest, had not since viewed her with an eye altogether friendly. We have seen how the American negotiators eluded the claims of that power on the Mississippi and its territory, reducing her to the necessity of renouncing them or maintaining the contest alone. The Spanish court did not now attempt to press their territorial demand beyond the 31st degree of latitude; but in regard to the boundaries of Florida, which had been ceded to her by the treaty, the two parties entertained widely different views. The Americans likewise anxiously desired the navigation of the Mississippi to the sea, and had

* Marshall, vol. v. p. 321-323. Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 130-132.

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introduced an article to that effect in the English treaty; but Spain repelled, as foreign to all her views, this intrusion of strangers into the heart of her territory. As Mr Jay was setting out for Madrid with full powers, he was anticipated by the arrival of Don Diego de Gardoqui, with whom he immediately began to negotiate. That envoy, however, showed the strongest determination upon both the above points, though offering, if they were conceded, some important commercial advantages in exchange. Jay was inclined to have concluded a treaty for twenty-five or thirty years, during which the States should forbear using the navigation, without renouncing their right. He urged to congress that there was little prospect during that period of the settlements being so extended as to render the navigation of much value; while at its close they would probably be better able to assert their claims. The decision of the senate was, however, necessary; and in that body, seven northern states indeed voted for Mr Jay's proposal, but five southern against it. As the constitution required nine to sanction a treaty, this amounted to a negative. Indeed, as soon as the proposition transpired, a complete flame was kindled, which seemed almost to threaten the Union. Resolutions poured in from the western territories, expressing the utmost astonishment and indignation at the idea of sacrificing a right which they deemed inalienable; and the Virginian assembly warmly concurred. Congress was obliged to pass a resolution, asserting the right in the most unequivocal terms; and there remained thus no basis on which the negotiation with Spain could proceed.*

That country remained thus in a hostile attitude, the effects of which were somewhat severely felt. The vessels which attempted to descend the Mississippi were seized and forfeited; agents were employed among the Creeks and other hostile Indians, to whom even arms were forwarded. Yet the position of the question was

* Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 201-208.

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so hopeless, that no fresh attempt was made till the beginning of 1793, when Spain, being involved in a serious dispute with Britain regarding Nootka Sound, might, it was hoped, be more accommodating. Mr Carmichael was empowered to open a negotiation at Madrid, and his proposal was well received, but to his dismay he found Gardoqui again the negotiator. That person professed the most cordial readiness to enter on the subject, yet raised many delays; and when the main points came under discussion, was found as immovable as ever. He declared his government would on no account open the Mississippi navigation, or allow any foreigners to enter her American territory. All that could be listened to would be fixing a depot at the frontier, to which the goods could be brought, and conveyed down by Spanish barks. The proposed limits of Florida were stated to be equally inadmissible. In short, the views of the negotiators were found "so widely divergent, that they could not be brought within the circle of negotiation." The employment of agents among the Indians was at first denied, but on undoubted proofs being produced, was acknowledged and defended.*

France alone of these powers professed an ardent attachment to the young republic, of which she considered herself almost a parent. Yet circumstances arose which rendered her friendship more embarrassing than the hostility of the other parties, though no serious inconvenience ensued till the arrival of the important crisis of the revolution. This event was at first generally hailed by the Americans as accordant with their political ideas, and likely to draw closer their ties with so great a nation; but when it advanced with such formidable rapidity—when the monarchy was entirely swept away, and the whole power placed in a convention of the people—wide differences of opinion arose. Many in the nation enthusiastically applauded these changes, de-

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. i. pp. 131, 258-261, 271-275.

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sired to fraternize with the new republic, and even to break down those limited checks upon popular power which their own system comprised. More reflecting men, and especially the federal chiefs, viewed it as wanting any principle of stability, and as the harbinger of anarchy and desolation; an opinion early and boldly avowed by Hamilton, whose unpopularity was thus greatly augmented. Washington viewed the subject with his usual dignified coolness, and chiefly in reference to the conduct which he himself ought to pursue. No doubt was felt as to the propriety of acknowledging any government which the French people might deliberately establish; but Governor Morris, the ambassador, in witnessing the furious and doubtful conflict of factions, proceeded with a degree of cautious circumspection which gave offence to the extreme republicans both in France and America.

Matters assumed a much more serious aspect when war broke out between France and England, and Genet, an ardent republican, was announced to be coming out as ambassador. The main difficulty was, that the treaty of alliance included a defensive guarantee of the French West Indies, and might thus be construed as obliging America to make common cause with her ally. The president then held long and anxious consultations with his cabinet both by speech and writing; and their opinions were divided. Hamilton and his party urged, that the French government being entirely changed, and the war offensive on their part, America was in no degree bound to co-operate; that this ought to be announced at once to the new ambassador, who besides should not be received with the same respect as one from a regular and established power. But Jefferson contended that his reception should be as usual, and that the question of war should be for the present reserved. On the first point Washington concurred; but after serious deliberation, he determined upon adopting a course of strict neutrality, and ordered a proclamation to that effect to be prepared and published. This important

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step, which experience amply justified, was nevertheless at great variance with the present temper of the nation; and his popularity received a severe temporary shock, which however never altered his determined adherence to this course.*

Genet was instructed not to demand that the United States should become parties in the war; and a letter which he brought addressed to the people, stated, that "their immense distance prevented their taking a concern in the glorious regeneration of Europe." Yet he brought with him secret instructions to form if possible a national agreement to guarantee the sovereignty of the people, and punish those powers which still kept up an exclusive commercial and colonial system. As this, however, could not be hoped from the timid and wavering conduct of the executive, it was to the people he was chiefly to look. He landed on the 8th April, not in the Chesapeake, but at the southern port of Charleston, and instead of proceeding to deliver his credentials, began to exercise sovereign functions, commissioning and directing the equipment of privateers against the English trade, and authorizing the consul to hold courts for the condemnation of the prizes. He was encouraged by the enthusiastic applauses of the people, from among whom the crews of these vessels were easily completed. In such occupations, five weeks were spent before he arrived at Philadelphia. His entry there was triumphal; crowds lined his route, and on the following day addresses were presented from numerous societies, expressing the warmest attachment to the French republic.

Being introduced on the 18th at the state-house, he met a much cooler reception. Washington indeed addressed him cordially, expressing strong attachment to his nation, but it was remarked made no mention of the revolution. Genet delivered his message, admitting the neutrality of the States, but strongly urging the immediate payment of the balance of about seventeen millions

* Marshall, vol. v. p. 468-480.

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of francs still due to France, either in money or in convertible bonds or securities; offering as an inducement, that the value should be taken in American merchandise. This application fell to be reported on by Hamilton, the man of all others least inclined to forward it. He observed that the government had paid their instalments regularly, and even somewhat in advance, but only by fresh loans, for which the present disturbed state of Europe was very unfavourable. Their credit being strained to the utmost, could not admit of throwing into circulation a new mass of notes or other securities. Jefferson therefore intimated the impossibility of granting the request. By this time complaints poured in from the English ambassador and other quarters respecting vessels of that nation captured by those fitted out under Genet's commission. Washington again solemnly called for the opinions of his divided cabinet. All agreed that privateers could not be permitted to be equipped in the American ports; but the doubt was whether government should order the restoration of the ships actually taken. According to Jefferson, it was not responsible for acts done without its sanction, and might leave the question to be decided in the courts; but Hamilton more reasonably urged, that government was responsible for, and bound to redress wrongs done by its subjects to foreign powers. Washington, reserving this point, proceeded at once to intimate to the ambassador and instruct the governors, that this outfit of privateers could not be permitted. Afterwards, upon the opinion of the judges, the restoration of the prizes was ordered. The ambassador, in return, remonstrated on cases of British cruisers taking French goods out of American vessels, but was told that this was according to the old and established law of nations; Britain having never assented to the demand of the armed neutrality, that free bottoms should make free goods. Genet replied in the most insolent terms, such indeed as have scarcely a parallel in the annals of diplomacy. He derided the references to Vattel and to the old law of

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nations as altogether obsolete and misplaced in this age of renovation. They were not to lower themselves to the level of antiquated politics and diplomatic subtleties. It was not thus that the American people wished him to be treated. He could not suppose—he wished he could disbelieve—that such measures were conceived in the heart of George Washington, that celebrated hero of liberty. In fine, he said: "The French, too confiding, are punished for having believed that the American nation had a flag,—had any regard for its laws,—any consciousness of its strength, or sentiment of its dignity." He hinted in his letters, and was understood to declare openly in private, his intention of appealing from the government to the people, who continued strongly attached to him and to the French cause. A formidable opposition was organized against Washington's administration, who were represented as a band of aristocrats attached to England, and leagued with that European confederacy, "transcendent in power, and unparalleled in iniquity, which threatened to subvert the liberties of the world." The orders respecting the French cruisers were reluctantly and imperfectly obeyed; and they hesitated not in repeated instances to set sail in defiance of them.*

Such conduct it was considered impossible any longer to endure. In August, it was determined by the unanimous opinion of the cabinet, that a letter should be written to Mr Morris at Paris, detailing the various acts by which Genet had set the government at defiance, and which amounted actually to an attempt to make himself co-sovereign of the country. It was impossible that two separate authorities could exist in one state. His recall was therefore solicited, and, if he persevered, it might become necessary to suspend his functions, even before a successor could arrive. This letter, being communicated to the ambassador, called forth a most extra-

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. i. pp. 142-173, 708. Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 364-375. Marshall, vol. v. p. 483-496. Jefferson, vol. iii. p. 244-291.

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ordinary and violent reply. He denounced it as the work of aristocrats, friends of monarchy and of England, and consequently enemies to those principles which all good Frenchmen had embraced with religious enthusiasm. Alarmed at the popularity reflected on him by the attachment of the American people, they had united to calumniate him in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. They had excited the president to write this violent diatribe, and to demand his recall,—a step which might pass between despot and despot, but was here entirely misplaced. The American people were more outraged than himself; with them alone and their representatives the decision rested; the president, a mere executive officer, had no right to set aside treaties or to change their meaning. He intimated an intention to print the whole correspondence, that the American people, whose esteem was dearer to him than life, might judge if he were worthy of the paternal reception they had deigned to give him.

After this defiance, he proceeded with unabated activity in his former course. He had organized two expeditions, one from Carolina and Georgia against Florida, the other from Kentucky against New Orleans. The people of this last state, indignant at being still debarred from the navigation of the Mississippi, had ardently embraced the project, and collected a strong force to support it. Washington sent orders to the governor to stop the movements; but his answer was so lukewarm, and expressed so many doubts of his power, that it was judged necessary to order General Wayne to take a position on the Ohio, by which alone the expedition was prevented from descending. That from Georgia was also guarded against; and the French having granted the recall of Genet, his successor Fauchet arrived in February 1794. They soon after requested in return the recall of Mr Morris, whose place was supplied by Mr Monroe, a Virginian senator, ardently attached to free institutions.

Washington's attention had already been turned to the relations of the Union with Great Britain, who still

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held the western posts, and with whom all the grounds of dispute continued unsettled. These alleged grievances rankled in the minds of the people, and were greatly strengthened by the attachment to France, and enmity to the coalition against her, now so widely diffused. The popular cry for war was shared by the representatives, and opposed by only a very narrow majority in the senate. Washington, on the contrary, highly deprecated a rupture with the mistress of the seas, and the entire destruction of commerce thence inevitable. He dreaded, moreover, the nation being thrown into the arms of France, and the communication of the tyrannical anarchy which desolated that country, and had too many partisans in America. He determined to brave the popular clamour, and make a great effort to restore peace. John Jay, the supreme judge, who had been much employed in diplomacy, was appointed envoy extraordinary, a choice which appears to us singular, yet has several times been adopted in America. The house of representatives were so exasperated, that they carried, by a majority of twenty, a bill for suspending all commercial intercourse with Britain; and it was negatived in the senate only by the casting vote of the vice-president.*

On the envoy's arrival, the court of London, involved in a great continental war, showed itself not indisposed to any reasonable terms for averting an additional enemy. The king gave Jay a very gracious reception, and Lord Grenville showed every disposition to a conciliatory discussion. On the complaints of illegal seizure, the courts were stated to be the proper quarter to seek redress; but the time for doing so would be prolonged. Before the period fixed for the delivery of the western posts, the violations on the part of America had taken place, and were the sole ground of their being retained. A demand for the restoration of negroes could not be acceded to, as they had come in by proclamation, trust-

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. i. p. 167-172. Marshall, vol. v. p. 616-622. Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 415-416.

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ing to British honour. After long discussion, and several written counter-propositions, it was agreed that the western posts should be surrendered by 1st June 1796; and that the United States government should compensate British creditors for losses sustained by impediments to the collection of debts. The amount was to be decided by commissioners, two on each side, with power to choose a fifth; and the sum of £600,000 was ultimately awarded. The same arrangement was to be made for deciding upon British illegal captures, and also upon the northern boundary line, which was already a subject of discussion. Jay had been instructed not to regard a commercial treaty as indispensable, but to attempt it, if he saw fair prospects of success. The dispositions of the cabinet were found so favourable, that with little difficulty one was arranged, by which the Americans were placed on the footing of the most favoured neutrals, and even allowed to trade with the West Indies in vessels not exceeding seventy tons. The two treaties were finally incorporated and signed on the 19th November 1794. Instructions had been given to obtain, if possible, some extension of the rights of neutrals, and relaxation of the laws respecting contraband of war; but upon this subject the English cabinet were found inflexible, and it was not seemingly introduced into any written proposal. There was even an article which appeared to imply that certain commodities not usually contraband might be seized, though not confiscated, but the owners indemnified.*

On the 7th March 1796, Washington received the treaty, and considering it on the whole as favourable as could reasonably be hoped for, he submitted it on the 8th June to the senate. Considerable difference of opinion prevailed, and it was approved by the bare constitutional majority of two-thirds. The article respecting the West Indies was not sanctioned, on account of an engagement

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. i. p. 472-503. Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 442-444.

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not to export cotton as being a produce of those islands, while Mr Jay was not aware, that in the United States themselves it was already rising into importance; but this was not likely to be insisted on by Britain. After serious deliberation, therefore, the president determined to affix his signature. The contents, however, had already transpired, and had kindled among the popular party and the partisans of France the most violent indignation. They exclaimed, that the interests of the nation were not only neglected, but sold; that its honour was tarnished, and the long much-valued alliance with France completely renounced. Resolutions to this effect, beginning in Boston, spread through all the great cities, and thence over the Union. A number took a more sober view of the matter, but were nearly overborne by the general clamour. At the next meeting of congress, the subject came before the representatives, among whom a decided majority shared this sentiment; but they were met by a serious constitutional question. According to the federals, as soon as a treaty was ratified by the president and senate, it became the supreme law of the land; the other house could not obstruct, but were bound to concur in its execution. The democrats held this as an exorbitant power lodged in these parties, who might thus carry any measure they pleased, by merely inserting it in a foreign treaty. None, it was said, could be accounted final till consented to by the representatives, nor could they be called upon to aid in the execution of one which they disapproved. Their only step however was, on the motion of Mr Livingston, to address the president for copies of Mr Jay's instructions, and other documents connected with the negotiation; but Washington, in a long reply, declined this as both unconstitutional and inexpedient. This decision surprised the house, and was very ill received; yet ultimately the necessity of fulfilling the required provisions was carried by fifty-one to forty-eight.

The cloud of unpopularity which from these causes hung over the closing career of Washington was very

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painful to him, yet it never seems to have shaken his determination to pursue that line which appeared to him right. He says, in his plain way, "there is but one straight course in those things, and that is, to seek truth and pursue it steadily." In fact he saw, even in his lifetime, this gloom dispersed; and American writers generally allow that on no occasion did he render to his country more signal services. Never, perhaps, was the benefit more conspicuous, of the duration given to the tenure both of the senate and the executive, since elections made during the interval of Gallic phrensy would almost certainly have precipitated the nation into a long and ruinous war.*

The concluding years of his administration were also troubled by the resignation of the leading members of his cabinet. Indeed, there never perhaps had been one composed in so peculiar a manner, of men holding the most opposite extremes of political opinion, and cherishing besides a personal antipathy. Jefferson employed, as translating clerk in his office, one Freneau, who edited a journal of which the president complained that there was not an act of his government which it did not fiercely attack. But the secretary, who generally concurred in its sentiments, would not interpose. He complains, indeed, but without sufficient reason, that he produced his opinions in the council only to see them suffer martyrdom. Washington, though much harassed by this position, was still willing to have the opposite opinions pleaded before him, and to decide on them as a judge. Though leaning strongly towards Hamilton, he was reluctant to be left under his influence without a check. He urged Jefferson to remain, and when, in December 1793, the resignation was insisted on, he supplied his place by Randolph, who entertained similar sentiments. In the beginning of 1795, Hamilton followed the example, partly from private motives, and partly, no

* Pitkin, vol. ii. p. 455, &c. Marshall, vol. v. pp. 694, 731, 744.

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doubt, from his increasing unpopularity. He was succeeded, on his own recommendation, by Wolcott.*

In the beginning of 1796, the second term of Washington's presidency was to terminate; and notwithstanding the late popular clamours, it is believed that had he agreed to stand a third time, the choice would have been decided, and even again unanimous. His determination, however, to retire into private life, was now immovable. The two houses drew up addresses, strongly expressing their high estimation of his character, and of the conduct of his administration. That of the senate passed unanimously; but in the other house, Giles, the popular leader, concurring in the applause of his character, would not extend it to his system of government, or even express regret at his retirement. He was supported by only a few, and the address was carried by a large majority. Washington, at the same time, published an address to the people, exposing the principles on which their public conduct ought to be guided. It is written with great ability, and has ever since been regarded as almost a second constitutional charter. To adhere strongly to the Union, and shun the sectional distinctions of Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western—to avoid the extremes of party spirit—to venerate religion and morality as the main pillars of public welfare—to cultivate friendship with all nations, without a passionate attachment to any,—these are the leading objects of exhortation. The composition is said to have employed four months, and to have been chiefly prepared by Hamilton; but it breathes nothing of that monarchical spirit of which he has been so much accused.†

The only individual who could have united the two fiercely conflicting and nearly balanced parties being withdrawn, a furious conflict arose. The democrats put forward Jefferson, in spite of his professed reluctance,

* Marshall, vol. v. pp. 561, 686. Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. iv. pp. 165, 481, 497.

† Marshall, vol. iv. p. 765. Sparks, vol. ii. pp. 317, 369.

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while the federals, afraid to propose Hamilton, supported John Adams. After a severe struggle, the small majority of 71 to 68 appeared in favour of the latter, the result of which, according to the curious arrangement of the constitution, was to make his opponent vice-president. This union of conflicting elements was the less embarrassing, as the latter officer has no active functions assigned to him, and remains merely in reserve. The two statesmen, during the revolutionary struggle, had been united in the closest friendship; and though its changes had brought them to opposite sides of the political wheel, great personal regard was still professed. Overtures of co-operation were even made, but without being followed up; and Jefferson became as before a violent adversary to the government of which he ostensibly formed a member.*

The attention of the new president was immediately called to the critical state of the national relations with France. When the directory agreed to the recall of Genet, and requested that of Morris, Washington, anxious to conciliate them, selected Monroe, an able man, and imbued with an enthusiastic admiration of the French republic. The president's impartiality seems to have here carried him too far, making him choose a representative whose views so little harmonized with his own. Monroe's first despatches show him to have been one of those who ardently desired to identify the cause and interest of the two republics. He arrived when France had newly emerged from the reign of blood under Robespierre; but this he represents as a mere temporary interruption to the auspicious career of liberty. Even the Mountain party had, he thought, been useful till the overthrow of monarchy; and having then attempted to establish a tyranny of their own, they had justly fallen. That system was at an end; the guillotine would never again be erected, and the republic was advancing in a happy career of freedom. The French government, being apprized of these sentiments, gave

* Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 353; vol. iv. p. 514.

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him the most distinguished reception: he was publicly presented to the convention, and in answer to their address of welcome, expressed the strong sympathy and attachment felt by America towards France, saying: "Republics should draw near each other." Being warned from home that this language was not in accordance with his instructions, which had enjoined the strictest neutrality, he still defended himself, and continued the same course. It clearly transpires, that he had held communications tending to a co-operation of the two powers against Britain and Spain. Amid this intercourse, he was struck as by a thunderbolt with the intelligence of Jay's treaty with the former power; and the indignant disappointment then expressed by the French government would doubtless be faintly repelled by one who shared it. On learning, however, the doubts as to its ratification, his hopes revived; he represented to his government the triumphant position of France, her anxiety for a close alliance, and that there was no object which America might not in that case obtain through her aid. Washington, to whom these views were wholly foreign, disregarded them, and signed the treaty.*

The rage felt on this occasion by the French government was doubtless aggravated by the opposite hopes with which they had been inspired. Fauchet, their ambassador, declared that they considered the States as having thus "knowingly and evidently sacrificed their connexions with the republic." Orders were issued for the capture of vessels carrying provisions to any British port, and extensive depredations were in consequence committed. Washington, clearly perceiving that no redress could be expected through the agency of the present ambassador, determined to send another, and chose Mr Pinkney of South Carolina, a known friend of liberty, and who had not appeared in any of the measures complained of by France. That government, however, considered the recall of Monroe as the climax of its wrongs;

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. i. pp. 671-695, 721.

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and when he and the new minister waited on La Croix with their letters of recall and credence, they were treated with marked coldness. Before parting, they were led to suppose that Pinkney would be acknowledged; but two days after, Monroe received a letter intimating that this could not take place till the French grievances were redressed. Pinkney complained in vain of not being allowed even to explain his mission; nay, he was refused letters of hospitality, without which, at that time, no stranger was permitted to remain in Paris, and was warned that his next accounts would probably be from the lieutenant-general of police. He determined, however, not to leave Paris without a written order; and the government seemed reluctant to go so far as either to issue one or throw him into prison. In this precarious position he remained several weeks, when, on intelligence being received of Napoleon's successes in Italy, the mandate to depart was sent, and he repaired to the Hague. Monroe, who had just before been somewhat coolly treated, now met with the most marked attention; and in the parting address, deep regret at his recall was mingled with a direct appeal to the people of America against their government. The directory also sent a message to the council of five hundred, recommending that all vessels laden in whole or part with English goods should be declared lawful prizes.*

When these tidings arrived in America, Adams, who had succeeded as president, called an extraordinary meeting of congress. In a message of 16th May 1797, he exposed, with indignant comments, the conduct of the French government, and recommended an augmentation both of the naval and military force; yet he intimated the design to make a fresh attempt at negotiation, for which purpose Marshall and Gerry were joined in a commission with Pinkney. They were comparatively well received by Talleyrand, now foreign minister, and though their character was not publicly acknowledged, they obtained

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. ii. pp. 6-10, 151.

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cards of hospitality. He warned them that the directory were greatly exasperated at the president's speech, and a private agent from him, named in the despatches X, soon visited them, and expatiated strongly on this subject. He intimated, however, that there was one way by which this wrath might be softened, and the whole matter adjusted; this was by money. Provided a loan of £1,200,000 were made to the government, and a douceur of £50,000 paid to Talleyrand for his own use and that of the directory, he would guarantee that every thing should be well arranged. They replied, that they had brought no instructions to treat on such a subject, and could do nothing without reference to America. Being afterwards pressed to say simply yes or no, they gave a decided negative. Yet X with two coadjutors, Y (Mr Bellamy of Hamburg) and Z (M. Hauteval), continued to urge the point in every possible manner; and boasts were even made of the triumphant progress of the French arms, and the humiliating peace imposed on Austria. Venice had fallen; England would soon follow; and America might dread the same fate. The consent of their government might be necessary for the loan; but for the £50,000, their own powers were sufficient; there was a banker ready to honour their draft. They were asked if they had not been aware that at Paris nothing could be obtained without money; and having declared a total want of suspicion of this fact, were told that any American in the city could have informed them. When they expatiated on the claims of their country to good treatment, the agent showed extreme impatience, and at the first interval said: All this was very fine, but he did not come to listen to speeches; it was yes or no—the £50,000. "Gentlemen," said he at another time, "you do not come to the point; it is money—you must offer money." Although Talleyrand did not personally treat, they met these agents at his house, where the discussions were partly carried on. They at length drew up a lengthened statement of their claims and grievances, intimating, that unless they were

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attended to, there could be no object in their remaining longer. Marshall and Pinkney were welcomed and even urged to depart; but Gerry, by threats of immediate war, was induced to remain; a concession of which his government disapproved. On the 18th January 1798, a law was passed subjecting to capture every vessel which should contain any article of British fabric or produce.*

The report of these transactions, when conveyed to America, kindled a feeling of unanimous and indignant resistance. The French party, which had appeared almost dominant, was suddenly reduced to a small minority. Those who attempted to argue that it would be cheaper to submit than to resist, were considered as betraying the honour of their country. "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute!" was the general cry. The envoys made a kind of triumphal entry into Philadelphia; and Jefferson complains, that from being nearly in the front of popular favour, he was thrown far into the background. Congress readily authorized an augmentation both of the naval and military force, and to defray the expense, a considerable amount even of internal taxes, hitherto so odious, including one on land, was imposed. Washington consented to come forth from his retirement, and assume the command of the army, in which he appointed Hamilton his second. Hostilities were even commenced by sea. Commodore Truxton, with the frigate Constellation of 38 guns, captured the French L'Insurgente of 40. He had also obliged another of 50 guns to strike her colours; but she escaped during the night.†

The French government do not seem to have ever seriously intended war, but only hoped by the threat to make America yield to their terms. Finding her immovable, and being ashamed of the exposures made by the negotiators, Talleyrand now disavowed his agents, and

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. ii. pp. 158-164, 230. Presidents' Messages, pp. 72, 82.

† Marshall, vol. v. pp. 812, 813. Jefferson, vol. iii. p. 403. Willard, p. 299.

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expressed to Gerry the strongest wish for peace, without any demand of loans or pecuniary terms. Even when that minister had been recalled, he sent after him to Havre a new decree, professedly mitigating those formerly complained of, though it did not contain any important provision. He took the stronger step of communicating through Pichon, ambassador at the Hague, to Mr Murray, American resident there, his wish for peace, which he pretended even having always done every thing in his power to promote. Adams, on receiving these overtures, did not certainly display that anti-gallican spirit so strongly alleged by the opposite party. He immediately prepared a new commission, and to give it the greater weight, solicited the venerable Patrick Henry, who had been lately Governor of Virginia, to place himself at its head. As he declined on account of age, Oliver Ellsworth, chief justice, was substituted, and was combined with Mr Murray. A pledge was only required, that the embassy should be treated according to the usage of civilized nations; and this was promptly accorded. On their arrival at Paris, a complete revolution had taken place; Napoleon, returning from Egypt, had grasped with an iron hand the reins of power. He had been in no degree mixed up with the late transactions, and seems to have been desirous, at least in the first instance, to make his administration proceed smoothly. Every facility was therefore given to the negotiation, which, on the 31st July 1801, ended in a satisfactory treaty. The injurious decrees were repealed, and a liberal compensation stipulated for the depredations committed under them.*

Before this satisfactory result, Washington was no more. Though suffering under some infirmities, he had enjoyed general good health till the 13th December 1799, when, in consequence of severe exposure to cold, he was seized with an inflammation of the windpipe.

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. ii. pp. 231-243, 295-301, 844.

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On the 14th, it terminated in death, which he met with exemplary calmness and fortitude. When the tidings were conveyed to congress, then sitting, a deep and general mourning ensued, and all party feelings were for the moment hushed. The assembly at once broke up; an imposing funeral procession was arranged, and numerously attended. Many orations in honour of his memory were pronounced there and in different parts of the Union. It was even decreed that a marble monument should be erected in the capital, and his body deposited under it; but through party spirit and extreme economy, this was never carried into execution, and his remains still repose at Mount Vernon.*

During the first strong impression produced by the outrages on the part of France, Adams and his ministry had carried all before them. But when the cloud of war, which had seemingly impended, was dispersed, and it appeared even probable that she had never intended such a measure, a great reaction took place. Her votaries derided what they termed the X Y Z negotiation, representing, though seemingly without reason, these agents as having acted without any authority. But the severest trial was when the new taxes, the necessity for which was no longer felt, came to be levied. They encountered general discontent, and in some cases open resistance. Amid the first excitement, no difficulty had been found in inducing congress to pass an alien act, with very stringent provisions: also another, imposing restrictions upon the press; but these measures, being quite new, and foreign to the national habits and ideas, soon became odious.†

Under these influences, a new presidential election having come on in 1801, it soon appeared that the democratic interest was in the ascendant. Jefferson, its head, being again opposed by Adams, obtained a majority of seventy-three to sixty-five; yet his success

* Marshall, vol. v. p. 825-833. Sparks, vol. ii. p. 91-94.
† Jefferson, vol. iii. pp. 422, 432, 463.

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was chequered by a singular incident. Aaron Burr, a bustling adventurer of doubtful character, had made himself generally acceptable to the democrats, who voted for him in the view that he might become vice-president. The votes happened to be exactly equal; in which case the constitution had provided that the house of representatives should decide. Here, however, the federals, viewing Jefferson as their arch-enemy, threw themselves into the interest of Burr, and produced there too an exact equality. No remedy had been provided for this double contingency; and the machine of government seemed to have run down. The votes were taken again and again, but always with the same result. A proposition was made and received with some favour, that the house itself should appoint a provisional government. This the democrats most fiercely resisted, threatening a convention of the people, or even an insurrection. At length, after thirty-five equal ballotings, one individual went over, and placed Jefferson in the presidential chair.*

This statesman was not unworthy of the eminence to which he had risen. He possessed a wider range of knowledge and information than Washington, whom he equalled in talent, perhaps even in honesty of purpose. Yet he had not that greatness of character which raised the other so high above all his contemporaries: his mind moved in a lower sphere. He was completely a partisan, not only adopting extreme political opinions, but viewing his opponents with severe personal bitterness. We find him collecting speeches that escaped them at table, and on other familiar occasions, thence inferring, probably without reason, a design to overthrow the constitution. Yet he did not himself propose any alterations upon the republican side, and professed an attachment to the federal branch almost as decided as that of Washington. His primary object was the reduction of the large military and naval establishment

* Jefferson, vol. iii. pp. 431, 432, 460-463.

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formed by his predecessor, and thus removing the additional taxes imposed by him. This was a popular measure, and afforded of course immediate relief; yet afterwards, in the hour of need, it appeared to have been carried to an extreme. He first introduced the practice, since adopted to a vast extent, of removing officers, even in subordinate situations, whose political opinions were adverse to those of the president. He professes to have taken this course with great reluctance, and mostly where the appointments had been made by Adams from political motives, and even after being aware that his own election was hopeless. Yet it is remarkable, that this stretch of a doubtful executive power has been made almost wholly by presidents professing principles of the highest democracy.*

The new chief magistrate was soon involved in a transaction of very great importance. Intelligence was received that Napoleon had extorted from Spain the cession of Louisiana, granting in compensation the succession of the Duke of Parma, a Spanish prince, to the grand-duchy of Tuscany. That court had, however, yielded with much reluctance, and only from being overawed by the superior power of France. The intelligence excited great alarm in the American cabinet. The possession of this territory by Spain, a weak and sluggish power, had been sufficiently harassing; what then might be expected on its transference to the most stirring and active nation in Europe. The first and very painful result was the withdrawal of the right of deposit hitherto granted at New Orleans. An attempt to resist was doubtful as to right, and still more so as to the means of execution. Jefferson, however, knowing the French government to be embarrassed as to funds, conceived the hope that, for a large sum, they might be induced to part with the territory; and viewing the object as of the deepest importance, he was disposed not to be sparing in the amount.

* Jefferson, vol. iii. pp. 415, 483-485. Presidents' Messages, p. 93.

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Livingston, Pinkney, and Monroe were appointed a commission for carrying on this delicate negotiation. On arriving at Paris, they found their republican profession in bad odour with Napoleon, who, having determined to establish absolute power, regarded them with dislike as demagogues and anarchists. They did not scruple to obviate this by declaring that they considered the present system the most desirable for France after her severe recent agitations. They found the acquisition of Louisiana disapproved in the political circles, yet a favourite object with the first consul himself. He looked to it as a great colonial possession, which might rival those of England; as a new Egypt,—a place of reward for meritorious officers, and of exile for those he suspected. Mr King, the ambassador to England, endeavoured to stir that court against it; but though dissatisfaction was expressed, no right was there felt to interfere. An expedition of 5000 to 7000 men was prepared, and Bernadotte appointed to command it. As, however, the first consul began to contemplate hostile relations with Britain, his mind opened to the American proposals. He could not hope to maintain this transatlantic possession against her superior navy; while a large sum of money would be extremely convenient. King, indeed, was warned by Mr Addington that the British government would, in that event, take possession of the country. This was a new ground of alarm; but he gave assurance that they sought only to keep it from France, and would be quite satisfied with its acquisition by the United States. As hostilities became certain, Napoleon began seriously to negotiate on the subject. The treaty had been opened only with respect to New Orleans, and the territory west of the Mississippi; but he intimated that the eastern must also be included, which indeed by itself could be of little value to him. This proposal being unexpected, the envoys were unprovided with any instructions; yet rightly appreciating the great advantages of possessing both banks, they readily consented,—a conduct highly approved by the president.

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After a good deal of discussion, the price was fixed at 60,000,000 fr. (£2,500,000), and the States were besides to pay 20,000,000 fr. (£800,000) of indemnity stipulated to its subjects for injurious captures; making in all £3,300,000. The sum, though considerable, bore little proportion to the vast advantages which have since been reaped from the acquisition.*

Jefferson, although gratified by this arrangement, felt a good deal embarrassed in laying it before congress. No power to conclude such a treaty was conveyed by the constitution, and he was one who specially deprecated the general government going a step beyond its assigned functions. Congress, however, with the exception of a small minority, showed too much satisfaction at the event to be at all disposed to criticise its legality. Spain only, who still held possession of the country, and had certainly been treated with very little ceremony, made a strong remonstrance, that she had ceded it under the engagement of its never being alienated, and that the terms even had not been strictly fulfilled. She gave in afterwards a solemn protest to the same effect. The American government turned a deaf ear to such representations, and even prepared to assert the claim by arms. Napoleon, on hearing of this dispute, intimated, that unless the Spanish government yielded, he would join America in compulsory measures. This was enough for that court, who, on the 10th February 1804, intimated, through her minister Don Pedro Cevallos, that her opposition was withdrawn.†

Public attention was now called to another subject, which had long caused uneasiness and irritation. The piratical states of Barbary, whose career had hitherto encountered no serious check, had been committing extensive depredations on American commerce. They had even intimated an intention not to discontinue them

* State Papers (Foreign), vol. ii. pp. 509-516, 549-557. Jefferson, vol. iii. p. 499.

† Jefferson, vol. iv. pp. 2, 3. American State Papers (Foreign), vol. ii. pp. 570-572, 583; (Miscellaneous), vol. i. pp. 635, 636.

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without a tribute, to which the nation was little inclined. As Tripoli had been particularly active, Commodore Preble, in 1803, was sent against it with a fleet of seven sail. On his arrival, Captain Bainbridge, with the frigate Philadelphia, was employed to reconnoitre the harbour; but proceeding too far, his vessel grounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy. He and his crew were made prisoners, and treated with the usual barbarity.

The expedition was thus at a full stand, when Captain Eaton, consul at Tunis, intimated that the throne of Tripoli was disputed by Hamet Caramalli, a brother of the bashaw, who had found refuge and been well received in Egypt. He proposed and was permitted to join this prince, commanding the co-operation of the fleet. Eaton soon obtained Hamet's concurrence, and, early in 1805, was invested with the command of a body of troops which the latter had succeeded in raising. He marched across the desert of Marmorica, summoned the frontier fortress of Derne, and, though the commander made the defying reply, "My head or yours," overpowered him after a few hours of desperate fighting. On the 8th May, the reigning bashaw came up with a strong force, and attempted to recover the place, but was repulsed; and on the 10th June he sustained another defeat. Immediately after, the American fleet was reinforced by the frigate Constitution. While affairs thus wore a triumphant aspect, and the capital was in alarm of immediate attack, Colonel Lear, the consul, thought it most prudent to listen to overtures from the enemy and conclude a peace. It comprehended the delivery of the prisoners on both sides; there being a balance of 200 in favour of the bashaw, for which 60,000 dollars were to be paid. All co-operation was to be withdrawn from Hamet, in whose favour it was only stipulated, that his wife and children should be released. That prince made loud complaints, under which Jefferson evidently feels considerable uneasiness. He urges, indeed, that no pledge had been given for his restoration

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to power; and that his force, though so far successful, was not adequate to that achievement. Concerted movements may take place against a common enemy, without any mutual guarantee of each other's objects; yet, where both have effectively co-operated, each seemingly may claim a share of the advantage; and that of Hamet on the present occasion appears exceedingly slender.*

In the end of 1804, Jefferson's first term of office expired. His conduct having been altogether approved, and the democratic spirit being still predominant, he was re-elected by 162 votes out of 176. Burr, who had disgusted the ruling party by his conduct at the last election, was thrown out, and Clinton of New York, a democrat so decided that he had even opposed the formation of the Union, was elected in his place.

Burr, disappointed in this quarter, sought compensation by standing candidate for the government of New York. He was supported by a large body of the federals; but Hamilton, a man of high and honourable mind, despising him as a reckless adventurer, opposed and defeated his election. The disappointed candidate, taking advantage of some violent language said to have been used by his opponent, sent him a challenge. The Americans, while rejecting the feudality of Europe, have retained in full action this its barbarous remnant. The parties met, and at the first fire Hamilton fell. No event ever excited a more general feeling of regret throughout the States, where, even in the party most adverse to him, his high bearing, splendid talents, and political consistency, commanded general respect.

Burr, however, restlessly sought some means of attaining distinction and power. In September and October 1806, Jefferson learned that mysterious operations were proceeding along the Ohio; boats preparing, stores of provisions collecting, and a number of suspicious characters in movement. A confidential agent sent to the spot warned the president that Burr was the prime

* Willard, p. 315. Messages, pp. 119, 120.

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mover; and General Wilkinson, who commanded near New Orleans, intimated that propositions of a daring and dangerous import had been transmitted to him by that personage. The ostensible pretext was, the settlement of a tract of country said to have been purchased on the Washita, a tributary of the Mississippi; but the various preparations, the engagement for six months only, the provision of muskets and bayonets, pointed to something altogether distinct. It was either the formation of the western territory into a separate government, or an expedition against Mexico, sought to be justified by a boundary difference that had arisen with Spain, whose troops had actually crossed the Sabine. The former project, if entertained, was given up, no encouragement being found in the disposition of the people; and Burr's views were then confined to the seizure of New Orleans, and collecting there as large a force as possible for his ulterior design. His partisans abstained from all violence, and made their designs known only by mysterious conversations; so that, on being apprehended and brought to trial in Kentucky, he obtained a verdict of acquittal. The governor of Ohio, however, seized a quantity of boats and stores; and strict watch was kept along the whole line. Burr was only able, on the 25th December, to assemble at the mouth of the Cumberland river from sixty to a hundred men, with whom he sailed down the Mississippi. General Wilkinson had been instructed to settle the Spanish difference as quickly as possible, and direct all his attention to securing New Orleans, and suppressing this enterprise. Burr, therefore, finding no support in the country, was unable to resist the force prepared against him; his followers dispersed, and he himself, endeavouring to escape, was arrested on his way to Mobile. He was tried on a charge of treason; but the chief justice was of opinion that, though Blanerhasset, his coadjutor, had openly announced the project of attempting the separation of the States, there was no sufficient proof that Burr himself contemplated more than the Mexican expedition, which amounted

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only to the levying of war against a power with whom the country was at peace. He was thus acquitted of the main charge; yet Jefferson expresses himself much dissatisfied with the sentence, declaring his conviction of Burr's guilt in every particular. The acquittal appeared to him to have been prompted by that ultra-federal spirit with which he always charges the supreme court. Burr went to Europe, and never again appeared on the political theatre of the States.*

* Presidents' Messages, p. 128, &c. American State Papers (Miscellaneous), vol. i. p. 642-644. Willard, p. 315-318. Jefferson, vol. iv. p. 99.

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CHAPTER IV.

Origin and Events of the Second War with Britain.

Maritime Contest between Britain and France—Restrictions on Neutrals—Right of Search—Negotiations with Britain—Attack on the Chesapeake—Farther Negotiations—Decrees of Napoleon and British Orders in Council—Embargo-law—Madison President—Non-intercourse Act—Treaty signed by Mr Erskine—Disallowed—Jackson's Negotiation—Pinkney leaves London—Foster's Embassy—President determines on War—Proceedings in Congress—American Army and Navy—Their Losses in Canada—Successes at Sea—Causes—Internal Dissensions—Various Operations in Canada—British Fleet in the Chesapeake—War with the Creek Indians—Severe Contests—Termination—General Peace in Europe—Alarm and Preparations in America—Landing of General Ross—Battle of Bladensburg—Capture of Washington—Attempt upon Baltimore—Operations in Canada—Failure of Sir George Prevost—Expedition against New Orleans—Active Measures of Jackson—Landing of the British—Partial Encounters—General Attack—Repulse, with severe Loss—British reimbark—Embarrassments of the American Government—A Treaty opened—Commissioners meet at Ghent—Peace concluded.

About this time arose discussions that led to a long series of troubles. The contest which had arisen between France and England spread over the Continent, and was attended, on the part of Napoleon, with such signal triumphs, as rendered him virtually its master. But, while all Europe bent beneath his sway, he was goaded to madness by seeing Britain stand erect and defying, while not a vessel could leave one of his own ports without almost a certainty of capture. A struggle now ensued, very different from that hitherto waged

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between European kingdoms, when some exterior provinces or appendages only were disputed. It was a question of empire on one side and existence on the other; and each party thought itself entitled to employ extreme means, and to pass the limits hitherto sanctioned by the practice and public law of Europe. Napoleon, viewing his mighty rival as resting solely upon commerce, imagined, that if he could exclude her merchandise entirely from the continent, the root of her power would wither, and she would fall an easy victim. His adversary, on the other hand, conceived the hope, that by depriving the countries under his sway of all the benefits of trade, a spirit of discontent would be roused that might prove fatal to his dominion. Both parties inflicted on themselves and on each other severe sufferings; and the hopes of both proved finally abortive. Britain remained mistress of the seas, and Europe lay still at the feet of Napoleon. Yet each persevered, in the hope that the desired result was in silent operation, and that by a continuance of effective means it might at last arrive.

America had at first derived extraordinary advantages from this warlike attitude of Europe. The most active, and finally almost the only maritime neutral power, she had reaped a rich harvest by engaging in the commerce between the ports of the belligerent states, and kept an extensive shipping employed in this carrying trade. But a severe reverse was felt under these new measures, when her vessels could not appear in any of the seas of Europe without being liable to capture by one nation or the other. The proclamations of both were equally rigorous; but Britain possessed so much more ample means of carrying hers into execution, that they were the most severely felt. Another grievance was endured from the same quarter. The great extension of the American shipping interest offered ample employment to British seamen, who, by entering this service, obtained higher wages and escaped the hardship of serving by impressment in ships of war. Britain therefore claimed and exercised the right of searching American

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vessels for these deserters, and, wherever grounds of suspicion appeared, of calling upon them for proofs of American origin. She contended that the desertion, if unchecked, would proceed on so vast a scale, that the navy, her grand means of defence, would be entirely crippled. The other party complained, that not only was the national flag thus violated, but American citizens were, under this pretext, seized and carried to distant ports, where they could not procure proofs of their origin, and those actually produced were not duly regarded. In a report to congress, it is stated, that the number impressed since the beginning of the war had been 4228, of whom 936 had been discharged. It was alleged, that by far the greater proportion of these were native Americans, and that in 697 recent cases, only 23 were British and 105 doubtful; but to these statements it seems impossible not to demur.*

The first encroachment on the liberty of commerce was directed against the transportation of the produce of the French West Indies to the mother-country. It was maintained by Britain, that the Americans, having been formerly excluded from this employment, and admitted to it only in consequence of the war, could not complain of losing a branch which they had never enjoyed; while they urged, that the war had conferred on Britain no new right to interpose. They entertained hopes of gaining their object in consequence of Mr Fox's accession to power in 1806. That statesman even told Monroe, then ambassador, that he had ordered the practice of impressment to be suspended, but was not prepared to yield up the right. Jefferson, encouraged by this intelligence, added Pinkney to the embassy, with the view of concluding a final arrangement. On his arrival, however, Fox had been seized with that illness which terminated in his death. The commission were received by Lord Grenville, to whom the subject was new, and who was pressed by the duties of other departments. Soon, however, Lords

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. iii. pp. 36, 37.

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Holland and Auckland being named commissioners to carry on the negotiation, expressed the most conciliatory disposition, but stated, that as all the law officers were in favour of the right of impressment, it could not be formally conceded, but would be exercised with the greatest caution. It had been so in fact for some time, and no fresh ground of complaint had arisen; an informal assurance was even given that the same lenient course would still be pursued. The Americans had been instructed to make this point a *sine qua non;* but finding more than the above unattainable, while terms that appeared satisfactory could be secured on other subjects, they at length agreed to sign the treaty. On its being transmitted to Jefferson, however, he at once determined on refusing to ratify it, without even the usual course of submitting it to the senate. This, he conceived, when his own mind was completely made up, would have been an empty form. He therefore sent it back, with instructions that an attempt should be made to obtain at least a partial abolition, and also stating modifications which he considered necessary in several of the other articles. He continued the same negotiators, and did every thing in his power to sooth Monroe, hitherto his favourite diplomatist, who could not but feel deeply wounded on this occasion.*

The estrangement caused by this step was aggravated by a tragical incident. Admiral Berkeley, then commanding on the coast, having learned that several men belonging to his squadron were on board the United States frigate Chesapeake, gave directions for their seizure by Captain Humphreys of the Leopard. That officer came up to the American vessel soon after it had sailed from Hampton roads, Virginia, and sent a boat's crew on board, asking permission to search for the British deserters; Barron, the commander, replied, that he could not allow his men to be mustered by any other than himself. The boat returned, when a fire was opened from the Leo-

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. iii. pp. 105, 116-154. Jefferson, vol. iv. pp. 153, 154.

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pard, which the American being totally unprepared for, was unable to return. In the course of twenty or thirty minutes, he endeavoured to fit his vessel for action, but not having succeeded, and three of his men being killed and eighteen wounded, he struck. To a British officer, who then came on board, he offered his vessel as a prize; but the other disclaimed any such view, and delivered a letter from Humphreys, deploring a loss which might have been avoided by amicable adjustment. He then took out four men, three of whom were alleged to be Americans, and departed. Berkeley had committed a gross error in authorizing such a proceeding against a government armed vessel, respecting which the right of search had never been claimed. A loud and general clamour, in which all parties joined, was raised throughout the country; and Jefferson issued a proclamation, excluding British ships of war from all the waters of the United States.*

When Monroe and Pinkney received these difficult matters to adjust, a change deemed unfavourable had taken place in the British cabinet. The whig ministry had been displaced in favour of the opposite party, supposed to be more decided both in hostility to France, and in the assertion of British rights. Mr Canning, however, the new foreign minister, treated them with courtesy, when they presented the treaty unratified, and with the proposed alterations. After some consideration, he intimated, that since the rejection of a solemn deed signed by the plenipotentiaries of the States, a new negotiation on the same basis was inadmissible. In adjusting a treaty, one party is supposed to have made concessions in order to obtain similar ones from the other; and when the first were withdrawn, the last could be no longer binding. It was agreed, however, that the relations of the two powers might remain for the present in a friendly though informal position. In regard to the Chesapeake, he complained that a violent measure

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. iii. p. 6-23.

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of retaliation should have been adopted before any attempt to seek redress by negotiation. He had no hesitation in disavowing the action of Admiral Berkeley, and was ready to treat for ample compensation. The Americans, however, had been instructed to decline entering on the subject, unless in combination with a general arrangement for relieving their vessels from impressment. This Mr Canning considered as a question standing on entirely different ground, which could by no means be mixed up with the other; and since they could not treat it separately, a special mission would be sent out on the subject. Mr Rose was therefore despatched, and, on his arrival at Washington, intimated to Madison that he was ready to offer compensation, which would be ample and he trusted satisfactory. He was informed, however, that the subject could not be entertained, unless in combination with a security against future impressment. Rose replied, that he had no authority to treat on any topic but that of the Chesapeake; and this being refused, his mission terminated. This repeated rejection of a compensation offered and pressed could not but expose the president to the suspicion of unwillingness to lose hold of the excitement which the event had created. He seems to have felt that this manœuvre could not be long continued, and some time after wrote through Madison to Pinkney, that the offer, if again urged, might be accepted.*

Affairs in Europe, meantime, were assuming a still more serious aspect. Napoleon, after his victory at Jena, and entry into Berlin, which placed him in a most triumphant position on the Continent, became still more eager to crush the only power that still defied him. In November 1806, he issued a decree, declaring the British isles in a state of blockade; this was retaliated by an order in council on the 2d January 1807, prohibiting the trade by neutrals from any port under his sway to another. On the 11th November, a fresh order

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. iii. pp. 198-203, 213-217, 221.

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declared, that all these countries were to be considered in a state of blockade; but some mitigations were afterwards admitted in regard to vessels willing to trade through the British ports, after paying a certain duty. These terms, however, were repelled by America, as a levying of tribute, and as altogether inconsistent with the independence of her flag. Enraged at this farther measure, Napoleon, on the 17th December 1807, issued at Milan another decree, subjecting to confiscation every vessel which should have submitted to the conditions imposed by England.

America was thus placed certainly in a hard situation, being unable to send out a vessel to sea, which was not liable to capture by either belligerent. She might have been fully justified in imposing severe restrictions on the shipping and commerce of the offending parties; but instead of this, Jefferson proposed and was supported by his party in carrying the measure of an embargo, to be laid for an indefinite period on all vessels within the ports of America. This step was marked by that violent and extreme disposition to which democratic bodies are liable. It is singular, as being carried by the interior and agricultural states against the most violent opposition from the northern and commercial ones, though the latter were almost the exclusive sufferers. They were told, indeed, that the object was to procure for them redress, and that their vessels, thus detained in port, would be saved from capture and confiscation. They thought, however, that they might have been consulted as to their own interests, and not have had a remedy imposed which was deemed by them ten times worse than the evil; a few occasional losses forming a very small mischief compared to the total extinction of a great and flourishing commerce.

In 1809, the second term of Mr Jefferson's office expired, and he rejected all propositions for being put a third time in nomination. The federalists, including now nearly the whole mercantile interest, proposed Pinkney, but were outvoted by a large majority, Madison be-

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ing elected president, and Clinton again vice-president. The former had been distinguished as a federal leader, having taken an active part in framing the constitution, and overcoming the resistance encountered by it in Virginia. Afterwards, he was active in defeating the amendments proposed by that and other states. When, however, a modified opposition was formed, seeking to limit its interpretation, and generally supporting the democratic interest, he decidedly espoused that side, and became identified with Jefferson, its head, under whom he long acted as secretary. His government was thus a virtual continuation of the former, though his party feelings, and in particular his enmity to Britain, were generally supposed to be less violent.

The first step certainly bore somewhat of this appearance. The absurd embargo-law had produced ever increasing irritation and even resistance; and it evidently could continue to be enforced only by arms. It was in consequence exchanged for one of doubtless a less irrational nature, which merely prescribed non-intercourse with both of the two offending governments; and the president was empowered immediately to remove it with regard to either of them which should repeal its hostile decrees.

Soon after a prospect seemed to open of a favourable termination. Mr Erskine, the English minister, received a paper, intimating that his cabinet were ready to repeal the orders in council, on the understanding that the non-intercourse act should continue in operation against France, and on condition that the British navy should be allowed to enforce it, without which it would be nugatory; also, that America should abstain from any commerce with the French colonies not enjoyed by her during peace. He was authorized to show these written propositions to the American minister; but unaccountably, instead of doing so, he announced simply, and without any condition, the intention of his court to repeal the orders. Madison certainly met the announcement very promptly, stating it to the house of repre-

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sentatives, and issuing a proclamation for the renewal of intercourse in June 1809. He was surprised, however, to receive a despatch from Mr Pinkney, mentioning the two annexed conditions; when Mr Erskine being asked for an explanation, showed his original instructions, actually containing these terms, which certainly changed greatly the character of the offer, and were declared altogether inadmissible. The British cabinet then, of course, disavowed their minister's original communication, and recalled him. The Americans showed on this occasion an extreme irritation, to which they seem little entitled, considering that they themselves had recently done the very same thing respecting a treaty signed by a more formal and accredited mission, and that having seen the actual instructions, they could not doubt of the error resting solely with the ambassador. That Mr Madison, therefore, should consider this non-ratification as a proof of rooted enmity to the States, seems wholly unreasonable. In this state of affairs, Mr Jackson, sent out from Britain on a special mission, was received with great coldness, and all communication refused, except by writing. The ambassador was offended by this treatment, and wrote in a tone not very conciliatory. In the course of communication, he referred to the American government as having seen Mr Erskine's instructions, apparently with the view of showing that blame did not rest with the British cabinet. Madison, understanding the assertion to be, that he had seen them previous to revoking the non-intercourse act, and had thus acted very inconsistently, denied the statement. Jackson, doubtless under the same misunderstanding, repeated it, referring even to their own admission. The other treated this as giving him the lie, and refused to hold any further intercourse with the British negotiator.*

The president, however, authorized Mr Pinkney to continue the negotiation, even adding Monroe to the embassy, who does not, however, appear to have arrived.

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. iii. p. 299-319.

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The complaints against Mr Jackson were by no means fully admitted by Marquis Wellesley, now foreign minister, who observed that he had disavowed any offensive intention; but as a mark of friendly disposition, another plenipotentiary would be sent. Meantime, the non-intercourse law having expired in May 1810, the American government gave notice, that if either party would repeal its obnoxious decrees, this measure would be renewed against the other. Hopes even of war seem to have been held out. Napoleon, determining to avail himself of this prospect of annoying his adversary, issued in August a proclamation revoking the decrees from 1st November following, under the full understanding that Britain was to withdraw her orders in council, or America make her rights be respected. Pinkney immediately called upon Marquis Wellesley to meet this overture. The latter, while declaring the high satisfaction with which he would relinquish the orders in the event of actual repeal, could not do it upon this sort of conditional one, which, requiring that of Britain to be antecedent, was not therefore in real operation. Though a new plenipotentiary to America was promised, none was appointed; but the delay was explained as solely owing to the difficulty of finding one who would possess sufficient weight, and be acceptable to the American government. Pinkney, however, on this ground, in the beginning of 1811, withdrew, leaving Mr Russell to act as chargé d'affaires.*

Soon after, however, Mr Foster came out as plenipotentiary. He again brought offers of compensation for the Chesapeake, which being found ample, were at length accepted. Respecting the orders in council, very lengthy discussions ensued. Notwithstanding the alleged revocation, American vessels continued to be seized under the decrees; but it was answered, that on complaint and remonstrance, they had been mostly liberated. Reference

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. iii. pp. 349-377, 408-411.

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was made by Foster to French proclamations, in which the decrees were declared and gloried in as still in full force. This, the Americans said, was only in regard to European neutrals, and when they were satisfied as to themselves, it was unreasonable to demand that they should compel France to follow a certain course towards other nations, or to receive British goods into her own dominions. Mr Foster denied any idea of such compulsion; yet they seem to have extorted from him the admission, that a general revocation of the decrees must precede the repeal of the British orders.*

In these circumstances, the American government determined upon making preparations for war; being assured of support from a majority in congress. Mr Madison, in his message of 5th November 1811, enumerated the wrongs sustained from Britain, and proposed an augmentation of taxes, and of the naval and military force. Authority was given to enlarge the army to 35,000 men, to increase the navy, to raise 11,000,000 dollars, by doubling the duties of customs, and even imposing internal duties, hitherto so much deprecated. In February 1812, the public were excited by the publication of the correspondence of a Mr Henry, represented as having three years before attempted to stir up disaffection in the northern states. His instructions, it appears, were merely to ascertain the state of public feeling, and if any individual wished to open a communication with the British government, to offer himself as a medium. He was employed altogether by General Craig, governor of Canada, and his services were not recognised in Britain; upon which he came and gave the information to the adverse power.†

In June 1812, the cabinet, with the concurrence of congress, determined to declare war against Britain, in which they were supported by the democratic majority, always hostile to that country. Yet the call was far from

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. iii. p. 435-457.

† Willard, p. 323. American State Papers (Foreign), vol. iii. p. 546, &c.

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urgent, and the measure, as already observed, was deprecated in the most vehement manner by that part of the nation which alone had suffered the injuries, deemed by them light when compared with the remedy now proposed. It was the more odious in the eyes of the world, from being undertaken while Britain had nearly her whole force engaged in defending the free constitution then enjoyed by Spain against the French usurper, now universally owned as a despot. In the strong language of party, it was represented as "an idolatrous sacrifice of the interest and honour of America on the altar of French rapacity, perfidy, and ambition." John Randolph wrote to his constituents—"Before these pages meet your eyes, the last republic on earth will have enlisted under the banners of the tyrant." Congress had not been peculiarly desirous of facing public opinion, having carried on the debate with closed doors; and when Randolph began a speech preliminary to a motion against the war, it was by sixty-seven to forty-two stopped as inexpedient. Thirty-four representatives, nearly a third of the number, sent addresses to their constituents, complaining of this secrecy, and strongly condemning the measure. By Massachusetts, the leading commercial state, it was declared to be "in the highest degree impolitic, unnecessary, and ruinous." In a Remonstrance, they deprecated "the sacrifice of so many and so certain blessings, for such dreadful and inevitable evils, for which Canada, even if conquered, would afford no adequate compensation." A minority, however, protested against this deed.*

It happened somewhat singularly, when the war had been declared on the 18th June, that on the 23d the orders in council on which it was founded were repealed in Britain, so far as regarded America. Admiral Warren, commanding on the station, and Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada, were therefore instructed to propose an armistice, with a view to the restoration of peace.

* Nile's Register, vol. ii. p. 248-265. American State Papers (Miscellaneous), vol. ii. p. 186, 210.

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Madison, however, rejected the overture, unless coupled with a stipulation that the right of search should also be renounced. He caused a proposal to the same effect to be made by Mr Russell at London. This was a point, however, on which Britain had shown such extreme determination, that he could never hope to have it yielded as preliminary to a mere armistice. The overture, therefore, could only serve to make a faint show of a pacific disposition, while he was really determined upon war.*

The Americans were very slenderly prepared for that great contest into which they had so precipitately plunged. The principle of the Jefferson administration had been rigid economy, the smallest possible standing force, and an almost entire dependence upon the militia. Yet every effort to give to that body an organized and efficient character had proved abortive. The army in 1808 was reduced to 3000, and though authority had since been given to raise it to 35,000, the nation was so averse to the bondage of a military engagement, that the recruiting went on very slowly. At the declaration of war, it amounted only to 11,800, of whom 5000 were employed in garrisoning posts. The only effective force, in fact, consisted of the Kentucky mounted militia, hardened by incessant and terrible conflict with the Indian tribes; and to them almost all the successes of the contest may be ascribed. The navy, which in 1789 had consisted of sixteen frigates and seventeen smaller vessels, was reduced to seven of the former and eight of the latter. The exploits of this flotilla proved highly creditable; but it could not attempt to keep the seas against even a portion of the British navy.†

One point, considered almost absolutely certain by the war party, and faintly doubted by their opponents, was, that Canada would fall immediately, and the whole of North America be absorbed into the United States.

* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. iii. p. 595-605.

† American State Papers (Military), vol. i. p. 319; (Naval), p. 249.

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They did not duly estimate the inefficiency of militia as an invading force, nor the bitter enmity of the Indian tribes. This last they insist was little to be expected, considering the benevolent policy followed towards them; but we have shown, from American authorities, that though this disposition might prevail in the votes and even the intentions of the general government, a very opposite spirit reigned among the borderers, who came into immediate contact with that unfortunate race.

The operations, commenced by General Hull, an old officer of the Revolution, were intended to overrun Upper Canada. Having assembled at Detroit 2500 men, of whom 500 were regulars, he crossed the river, and published a boastful proclamation, announcing the speedy and entire subjugation of the country. But Captain Roberts had meantime attacked and carried the fort of Michillimakinac, the key of the north-west Indian territory, whose tribes, headed by Tecumseh, one of their bravest chieftains, poured down in large bodies, to attack their old enemy. General Brock hastened to the spot with a detachment of regulars; while the Canadian militia mustered in force. Hull, after threatening for some time Fort Malden, retreated across the river, and being followed by Brock, shut himself up in Detroit. There he seems to have been seized with panic, and capitulated, surrendering his garrison, besides two detachments in the vicinity.

Another attempt was made on the Niagara frontier, where General Rensselaer had actually pushed across the river, and gained the heights of Queenston. General Brock, having attacked with too small a force, was repulsed, and fell gloriously fighting. The militia, however, on the opposite bank, struck with a panic, refused to cross and support their countrymen, who, 900 in number, being parted by General Sheaffe, were overpowered and obliged to surrender. General Smyth, who succeeded, made some boastful announcements and straggling attempts, but finally closed the campaign without any serious effort.*

* This series of operations is more fully narrated in British America (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. i. p. 185-188.

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This series of disaster and disgrace, instead of the hoped-for triumph, was in some degree, and unexpectedly, redeemed by maritime successes. A squadron, indeed, sent out immediately in hopes of intercepting the West India fleet, after coming into partial contact with it, could not effect the object. On the 19th August, Captain Hull, with the States frigate Constitution, came up with the Guerrière, commanded by Captain Dacres. The former, though rated at forty-four guns, carried in fact fifty-six, with a crew of 460; the latter had forty-nine guns, and only 260 men and boys. After half an hour of distant firing, the vessels closed; and in about twenty minutes, the mizzen-mast of the Guerrière fell, and lay in such a position as to urge her towards her adversary. The Americans made, without success, an attempt to board; but their fire continued so heavy, that in an hour more, the main and mizzen masts of the Guerrière went over the side, and she lay on the water a complete wreck. She then unavoidably struck, when the victors, having removed the crew, immediately set her on fire. The commander treated his captives with honour and humanity; but Dacres was indignant to observe a number of British seamen among the hostile crew. His loss had been severe, fifteen killed and sixty-three wounded; while the other party reported only seven killed and seven wounded; but the slight cases of the latter are alleged to have been omitted. The vanquished captain, officers, and crew, were considered as having behaved with bravery; while, considering the fame of the British navy, the enemy felt no unreasonable exultation at so signal a triumph.

On the 18th October, near the Bermudas, two sloops, the Wasp, American, and Frolic, British, each carrying about twenty guns, engaged in a most desperate conflict. The Wasp suffered very severely, several masts, with most of the braces and rigging, being shot away; but her opponent, besides still heavier injuries, had the greater part of her crew killed and wounded; and on being boarded, attempted no farther resistance. The

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victor and prize, however, soon after fell into the hands of the Poictiers, a British seventy-four, and were carried into Bermuda. Still the affair was very creditable to Captain Jones, the American commander.

On the 25th October, the ship United States, Captain Decatur, encountered the Macedonian, under Captain Carden. They were both large frigates; but the former considerably superior in guns and men. The action lasted about two hours, when the Macedonian having nearly all her masts and rigging shot away, with thirty-six men killed and sixty-eight wounded, was obliged to strike. Decatur, on being presented with the vanquished commander's sword, refused it "from one who knew so well how to use it," and asked rather the friendly grasp of his hand. In fact, when tried at home, though a criticism was made on a commencing manœuvre, he was most honourably acquitted. The other party owned a loss of only five killed and seven wounded.

Before the year closed, thay had to exult in another triumph. Their frigate, the Constitution, under Commodore Bainbridge, encountered the Java, Captain Lambert, the former having 55 guns and 480 men, the latter 46 guns and 377 men. The British vessel was soon so much damaged, that no prospect of success appeared, unless from boarding; and though sanguine hopes were raised from this movement, it was baffled by the fall first of the fore and then of the main topmast. Captain Lambert, at the same time, was mortally wounded by a rifle-shot. Bainbridge then moved to a little distance to adjust his rigging, imagining, as he says, that the Java had struck; but seeing her flag still flying, he again approached and found her ready to renew the action. He gained, however, such a raking position, as rendered resistance hopeless, and compelled a surrender. He treated his prisoners honourably. The British lost twenty-two killed and 102 wounded, while the Americans owned nine killed and twenty-five wounded, among which last was the captain himself; but Lieutenant Chads says, he ascertained the latter to be forty-eight. The Java was immediately burned.

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This train of success was the more remarkable, as having been made in the face of the fullest displays of valour and hardihood by British seamen, and without any impeachment on the skill of their officers. Mr James seems indeed to have shown, that in most instances there was a balance of strength against them; yet it was not greater than they had been accustomed to consider as leaving them still secure of victory, much more against such complete and disastrous defeat. He observes that, Britain having long rode undisputed mistress of the seas, the attention of her seamen had been more turned to keeping their vessels in holiday trim, than to those practical operations which tell in the day of battle. The very great number of men required, made it difficult to make the choice very select, or the complement very full. The Americans, on the contrary, from their small number, could easily make up complete crews of picked men, partly from the United Kingdom. They had applied their characteristic habits of practical ingenuity and contrivance to improve the arrangement and efficiency of the vessels, building them of larger scantling, as it is termed, and of greater strength, than was appropriate to the number of guns; hence they could stand the same fire uninjured, longer than a British frigate. Their marines, drawn from the western borders, and familiar with the use of the rifle, were as marksmen almost unrivalled; and to them, probably, was owing that singular and dreadful carnage which always ensued among the opposite crews.

Towards the close of this year, the contest of party, excited by the war, raged with augmented violence. The administration were reproached, not only for having commenced it without reason, but for having conducted it so inefficiently. The states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, the centre of the federal party, being ordered to furnish quotas of militia for the invasion of Canada and the defence of the coast, declined to obey, under an alleged construction of the constitution allowing the state governments to determine when such a measure would be ne-

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cessary. They obtained even an opinion of three of the supreme judges in their favour. The president strongly repelled this interpretation, urging, not without reason, that it made America in war no longer one nation; but it was impossible, under the circumstances, to attempt any compulsory measures. At this time occurred the critical occasion of the expiry of Madison's term of office; but he was re-elected by a large majority; and congress showed still a fixed determination to support the contest. Authority was given to increase the army still farther if possible; and in the hope of giving an impulse to recruiting, an addition of twenty-five dollars was made to the bounty, and of two to the month's pay; yet it was still found impossible to raise more than 1700 men a-month. The president was also allowed to raise a loan of 16,000,000 dollars, and to issue 5,000,000 of treasury notes.

Great exertions were now made in the west to retrieve the disgrace of Hull's expedition. The warlike border militia of Kentucky and Ohio assembled in considerable force, and injudiciously advanced in two detached corps, under Generals Harrison and Winchester. The latter arrived first in the vicinity of Detroit, and gained some advantage; but being surprised by General Proctor with a force of British and Indians, he himself and nearly his whole army were made prisoners. Harrison then fell back and intrenched himself at Fort Meigs, near the rapids of the Miami; when the opposite leader, with 2200 British and Indians, advanced to attack him, but was repulsed. The Americans having then received a reinforcement of 1200 Kentuckians, under General Clay, assumed the offensive; but about a thousand having incautiously advanced in a straggling manner, were surprised by the Indians, and almost all either killed or taken prisoners. Proctor, finding himself still unable to storm the intrenchments, retreated; but the Americans were disabled for a considerable time from active movements.

They made also vigorous preparations to attack the eastern frontier of Upper Canada, having assembled there a

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force much superior to that of the British. A fleet, formed at Sackett's Harbour, afforded them for some time a command over the wide expanse of Lake Ontario. General Dearborn embarked 2000 men, sailed to the important town of York (now Toronto), and carried it without resistance; but the explosion of a magazine caused the death of above 100 men, including Colonel Pike, a highly promising young officer. The commander did not attempt to retain the place, but, before departing, burned the public buildings, and seized a quantity of stores.

A more solid impression seemed to be made on the Niagara frontier. Dearborn having crossed the channel with a large force, obliged General St Vincent to evacuate Fort St George, and retreat to Burlington Heights, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario. He was pursued by 4000 men under Generals Chandler and Winder, who hoped by crushing him to gain possession of all the western provinces. Colonel Harvey, however, having undertaken a night attack with 700 men, succeeded in capturing both the enemy's generals; and though he was obliged to retreat, the American army were so stunned by their loss, that they broke up and retired upon Niagara. Colonel Bœrstler was then sent forward with 700 men to attack a post at Beaver Dams; but being assailed at different points by parties of British and Indians, he imagined himself surrounded, and surrendered with his whole force.

Meantime a flotilla formed at Kingston under Sir James Yeo, again gave to Britain the naval command of the lake. Sir George Prevost even made an attempt upon Sackett's Harbour; but not displaying, as was alleged, the requisite energy and boldness, and being intimidated by a courageous demonstration, he withdrew. Sir James Yeo, however, conveyed reinforcements to the Niagara territory, where the enemy ceased any farther advance.

Their efforts were now concentrated in a grand movement against Montreal, defended only by a very limited force. Generals Hampton with 6000, and Wilkinson

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with above 8000 men, advanced in different directions, the one from Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, the other along the St Lawrence. The first, in the end of October, came up to the British advanced guard of a thousand men, on the river Chateauguay, but the Americans displayed little concert or courage, and Colonels Salaberry and M'Donnell posted and manœuvred their small corps so skilfully, that imagining himself opposed by a large force, he gave up the undertaking for the season, and retreated upon Plattsburg. Meantime Wilkinson, having rendezvoused at the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, embarked his force in boats, and began to descend the St Lawrence, though Colonel Morrison from Kingston hovered along the banks, and even with inferior strength harassed his progress. General Brown landed with a considerable body, and after some time an obstinate engagement ensued, in which the English had the advantage. They could not, however, prevent their adversary from reimbarking and continuing the voyage; but soon after, intelligence being received of Hampton's retreat upon Plattsburg, Wilkinson, who had found the people decidedly hostile, conceived it inexpedient to advance alone, and fell back upon the same point.

While these operations were in progress on the eastern frontier, events of a different complexion distinguished the war in the west. General Harrison had there drawn large reinforcements from the bold races on the Kentucky border, while Proctor, having detached troops to Lower Canada, had no adequate means to stop his advance. The British still commanded Lake Erie; but the Americans had with great activity equipped a squadron of nine vessels, two of twenty-five guns each. Their opponents, labouring under several disadvantages, and not perhaps exerting the same energy, found great difficulty in assembling a nearly equal force, with which Captain Barclay engaged the hostile flotilla commanded by Commodore Perry. The conflict was one of singular obstinacy; the latter had even struck his own flag, but in an open boat he reached another vessel, and

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then bore down afresh upon the British, who were at last entirely defeated, and their whole squadron captured.

Harrison now no longer hesitated to proceed across the Detroit channel into Canada. He entered Amherstburg without resistance, Proctor having retreated up the Thames, and with 1300 troops taken a position at the Moravian town, where, being flanked by the river on one side and a wood on the other, he hoped to maintain his ground even against the enemy's superior force of 3500. The American general advanced, and on the 5th October began the attack. Finding the resistance obstinate, he employed the Kentucky mounted riflemen to gallop forward and charge the British centre; and though unable to penetrate, they threw it into confusion, and continued a destructive fire upon the flanks. Tecumseh, the bravest of the Indian chiefs, was slain in the heat of the contest, and his followers, no longer encouraged by the voice of their leader, fled from the field, leaving the English unsupported, who were at last completely defeated, with the loss of seventy killed and wounded, and 600 prisoners.

To carry on the extended though abortive operations against Lower Canada, the Americans had reduced their force on the Niagara frontier. Hence the English general Vincent, though ordered to retreat, pushed forward upon Newark, which was evacuated by M'Clure, the American general, after reducing the place to ashes; a barbarity for which he pleaded the orders of General Armstrong, secretary at war. Colonel Murray then crossed the channel and stormed Fort Niagara, capturing a large quantity of arms and stores. General Riall afterwards came over with a larger force, defeated General Hall, took Buffalo, then a village, with the adjacent one of Black Rock, and with doubtful propriety retaliated upon them the outrages committed at Newark.*

Britain, meantime, made exertions to regain her

* British America (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. i. p. 186-196.

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naval superiority, compromised by the early operations. In April 1813, Admirals Cockburn and Warren having united in the Chesapeake, with two seventy-fours, a number of frigates and smaller vessels, no American ship durst show itself, and the whole coast was at the mercy of the British. A large depôt of stores was captured at Frenchtown on the Elk river; a battery which had been erected at the village of Havre de Grace was taken, and a great part committed to the flames. Admiral Cockburn announced, that the same treatment awaited all the places which should make a similar resistance. As the only charge was an attempt to defend themselves against a regular enemy, this step does not seem justifiable by the laws of war; and the complaints of the Americans, though exaggerated, appear to have had some foundation. A fortification erected on Craney Island was attacked; but the British boats, having grounded on a muddy shore, became exposed to a heavy fire, and a loss was sustained of eleven killed and wounded, and fifty-two missing. The fortified town of Hampton, however, was carried after a short contest; and the troops, exasperated by some circumstances in the preceding conflict, were guilty of great excesses. These were chiefly committed by two companies of Canadian chasseurs, who were not again employed. Early in 1814, the Americans formed a small armament of gunboats under Commodore Barney, which being able to move in waters too shallow for the hostile vessels, might, it was hoped, protect the coast. Captain Barrie, however, with two frigates, forced it up a creek at the mouth of the Patuxent, where he held it blockaded. The government is said to have ordered the commodore to destroy the flotilla, when Colonel Wadsworth so skilfully raised a battery, that the frigates were obliged to withdraw, and Barney ascended the river. The British continued to reduce detached posts, and seize all the stores within reach.

The blockaded state of the American navy nearly precluded those combats of single vessels which had distinguished the former campaign so much in its favour.

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Captain Laurence, of the sloop Hornet, after a cruise in the Brazils, met the British sloop Peacock of twenty guns, which he attacked, and in fifteen minutes so shattered her, that she surrendered, hoisting a signal of distress. The boats were immediately sent, but before the crew could be completely removed, she sunk, carrying down thirteen British and three Americans; four of the former were saved.

Laurence, after this success, was immediately promoted to the command of the Chesapeake frigate, then lying at Boston; but that vessel could not stir out of port, in face of the British force. Captain Broke of the Shannon, however, in a chivalrous style, sent him a challenge, promising that all other vessels should be kept at a distance, if he would consent to meet him singly. He then lay to near the lighthouse, and in due time the Chesapeake was seen to set her sails and bear down, displaying three handsome ensigns, and a white flag with the inscription, "*Free trade and sailors' rights.*" At half-past five, the two ships engaged within fifty yards; when in seven minutes, and after three broadsides, the Chesapeake fell upon the Shannon, the rigging of the two ships locking together. Captain Laurence received a mortal wound; and Broke, seeing the enemy falter, gave orders to board, which were immediately executed. Only an irregular and partial resistance was encountered; and in four minutes after the entry, and fifteen from the beginning of the action, the British flag was hoisted on the Chesapeake. The people of Boston, who lined the shore in vast numbers, saw with dismay this result of an action for which they had anticipated a very different fortune.

In the course of 1813, the Americans had to sustain a severe contest with the Creek Indians, for whose improvement and civilisation the united government had made great efforts. Yet these were ill seconded by the border settlers, and the memory of former wrongs, and animosity towards the "Big Knives," were still cherished. These feelings were rekindled by the British war and

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solicitations from the great chief Tecumseh; and with the usual dissimulation of savages they prepared to gratify them. To cover the frontier, a chain of twenty forts had been erected, the chief of which, Mims, was the first object of attack. The security of the garrison was so complete, that a negro, who warned the governor of approaching danger, was twice flogged as a spreader of false reports. While he was undergoing the second infliction, the enemy appeared in view, and rushing in by the open gate, after a short contest massacred the 107 troops and 260 inhabitants, 17 only escaping.

A force of 2500 men was immediately levied, and placed under Generals Jackson and Coffee; the latter of whom was despatched with 900 against a strong post at Talluschatches. Having lured the Indians to a sally, he drove them back, and entered along with them. He draws a striking picture of the fierce determination with which they resisted. Not one asked for quarter, which we fear was not tendered; they continued fighting while able to stand or sit. In a short time their destruction wascompleted; a few women and children were wounded, it is said unintentionally, and the rest made prisoners. Jackson afterwards, with 1200 men, attacked a large body at Talladega, where his militia converted a feigned into a real retreat; yet with his reserve and a party of rallied fugitives, he routed them, killing 290. General White, at Hillabee, surprised a range of towns, and, on a flag being held out, spared 251 prisoners. General Floyd from Georgia, and GeneralClaiborne, governor of Alabama, gained also considerable advantages.

The Indians however continued to resist, and on a peninsula, formed by a bend of the Tallapoosa, strongly fortified an intrenched camp, which became the basis of their operations. In January 1814, Jackson marched against it with a considerable force; but on the 21st, having discovered a large trail, halted for the night. Next morning, he encountered a severe attack, which was with difficulty repulsed; after which, Coffee reconnoitred the camp, but considered it too strong to be carried by assault. The enemy made a fresh onset upon the right, which was

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found only a feint to cover a more serious one on the left; but both were finally repulsed. Another body then attacked the rear, which Jackson learned with joy, hoping to surround them; but at this moment the militia betook themselves to a disgraceful flight, throwing the centre into confusion; yet, with a small body that still stood by him, he repelled the assault. On the whole, however, he found himself obliged to retire, giving up for the present the object of the expedition.

Soon afterwards he assembled a larger body, and by the 26th of March again reached the spot. Sending Coffee to the opposite bank to cut off the retreat, he endeavoured to effect approaches by artillery; but not succeeding, determined to attempt storming the works. The conflict was desperate. Major Montgomery, in mounting the wall, fell dead; yet the Americans finally forced their way into the camp, and the Indian force was entirely destroyed, 553 being found dead, and only three taken. Weatherford, their greatest chief, then came and surrendered himself, saying: "There was a time when I had a choice. I have none now; every hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors to battle; but I cannot animate the dead. My people are gone, and I now ask peace for my nation and myself." In August a treaty was concluded entirely favourable to the United States.*

The commencement of the year 1814 was distinguished by events in Europe of the most portentous magnitude; the entry of the allied armies into Paris, the forced abdication of Napoleon, his exile to Elba, and the establishment of general peace on the Continent. These events, which filled the European world with almost universal exultation, produced in America a very different impression. The British forces by sea and land, which had been instrumental in overthrowing the greatest military power in the world, could now be turned undivided against them. Those hopes of conquest, which had buoyed

* Nile's Register, vol. v. pp. 105, 218, 267, 429; vol. vi. p. 147. Willard, p. 367.

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them up in undertaking the war, and were still anxiously cherished, all vanished; and they saw before them a hard and even somewhat doubtful struggle for existence. Britain having fought successfully and even gloriously with a mere handful of troops, could not now, it was imagined, fail to achieve a signal triumph. Every stage, however, of this extraordinary contest, seemed destined to present a result opposite to what could possibly have been expected. The British cabinet did not turn duly to account their commanding position. Their object being to strike a grand and decisive blow, the whole force should have been concentrated against the most vital and important point of the United States territory. This was evidently the capital and the great commercial cities, which were also the most exposed and accessible. Instead of this, the attack was directed against three different points, so immensely distant as to admit of no co-operation. The main and central one was assailed by a comparative handful, while the largest bodies were sent into remote quarters, where advance was opposed by natural barriers almost insurmountable, and undisciplined troops were equal or superior to regulars. Hence, instead of the hoped-for triumphs, failure and disgrace were to a great extent experienced.

The first movement, however, was executed against the capital. On the 2d June, about 2500 men were embarked at Bayonne under General Ross, a brave and distinguished young officer. On the 14th August, the expedition entered the Chesapeake, and on the 18th reached the mouth of the Patuxent. Admiral Cockburn had joined them with his squadron, having on board troops, which raised the force to about 4000. The general landed, and proceeded along the river to Nottingham; while the admiral sailed up to the station of the American Commodore Barney with his flotilla. The vessels on his approach were set on fire, and all except one destroyed, the seamen departing to reinforce the army. The determination was then formed, on the suggestion it is said of the naval commander, to march to the attack of Washington.

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The American cabinet, as soon as it heard of the fall of Napoleon, had felt the probability of such an enterprise, and even of being assailed by a larger force. Yet unable to command above a thousand regular troops, they ordered 10,000 militia from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to reinforce 5000 already mustered. Those states, however, as on other occasions, without refusing, neglected or delayed to obey the summons. Even with their small force, the Americans might have done much, had they employed it in a suitable manner, filling the woods with their dexterous riflemen, obstructing the roads, and harassing the invader by constant partial attacks; but they preferred to select a position covering Washington, where they drew up their raw militia in line, to fight a pitched battle with the British veterans.

The latter, in marching through a wooded territory with strict and almost trembling precautions, were not a little gratified to find no danger to guard against. In the evening of the 24th August, they reached Bladensburg, on the Potomac, and saw the American army drawn up on the opposite bank, 6500 strong, of whom the most efficient were 1000 regulars and 600 sailors. They were arranged along the river, in two lines, with a reserve, while riflemen occupied a small wood on a hill, and batteries commanded the bridge. The British light brigade, under Colonels Thornton and Brooke, pushed across, but were severely galled by the guns and rifles. In a short time, however, they cleared these obstacles, and drove the skirmishers upon the first line, which being then assailed, fled with precipitation. The British then too daringly advanced upon the second line, where the best troops were posted, and were driven back with some loss; but being reinforced, they renewed the attack, when the left, composed of militia, soon gave way. The right, where the seamen worked skilfully at the guns, made a brave stand, but were quickly overpowered, and Commodore Barney was left wounded on the field. Mr Madison being constitutionally commander-in-chief, though a complete civilian, could not well avoid appearing on the field; but the English

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writers allege that he provided for his safety by a very early retreat. The British loss was pretty severe, 64 killed and 185 wounded; that of the Americans amounted only to 100 killed and wounded, the smallness of which is ascribed to their speedy flight into thick woods, whither it was judged imprudent to follow them.

General Ross, with the part of his army not engaged, immediately advanced to Washington. A consultation was held by the opposite party as to the possibility of defending it; but the militia, fleeing in every direction, had very partially taken this right one, so that the force mustered was pronounced too small to afford any hope of resistance. The troops, on hearing this, are said to have shown the deepest anguish, and all order ceasing, they dispersed. The British army then entered and took possession of the city; and as circumstances allowed them to hold it only for a short time, the object was to make their visit be felt as severely as possible. Private property was strictly respected; but the navy yard was reduced to ashes, to which was added the president's mansion and the capitol or seat of congress, in whose fate were included the national library and archives. This last proceeding was loudly denounced by the Americans as barbarous; not perhaps without some reason. The French revolutionary armies, though they had by no means paid the same regard to individual rights, had not demolished palaces or public edifices, nor was this course indeed usual in civilized warfare. By an official return, the following estimate was made of the injury sustained:—

	Dollars.	
Capitol	787,100	
President's house, &c.	427,900	
Navy yard	509,000	
	1,724,000	(£387,900.*)

* State Papers (Military), vol. i. p. 529-537. James' Military Occurrences, vol. ii. p. 272-300. Campaign at Washington, &c., by Glennie, p. 39-152.

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At eight o'clock in the evening of the 25th, the British left Washington and returned leisurely to the coast, which they reached on the 29th without molestation. They there got intelligence of an unpleasant event. Sir Peter Parker, commanding the Menelaus frigate, had been detached on service up the bay; but, newly arrived from England, he was not aware of the skill and activity of the enemy in desultory warfare. Having landed with 125 men, and come up with an American detachment posted close to a wood, the latter, when attacked, retreated under that shelter, whence they kept up a most destructive fire on the English, who in vain sought to reach them. Sir Peter himself was killed, with thirteen of his men, and twenty-seven wounded; while the enemy sustained scarcely any loss.

The main British force was now in the close vicinity of Baltimore, one of the greatest of the eastern commercial cities, where the Americans had a large depot of naval stores, and were building several ships of war. Its capture, therefore, would appear to have been a principal object; and it has even been supposed, that amid the consternation caused by the fall of Washington, an immediate attack would have been crowned with complete success. Yet the commanders had ulterior designs, which, with little seeming reason, they considered more important. They re-embarked the troops, and made no movement till the 6th September, when, as the equinoctial gales prevented their leaving the Chesapeake, they determined to make an immediate attack upon the city. The most active exertions, however, had meantime been made to place it in a state of defence. The citizens had been armed, and the militia of the neighbouring country assembled in great numbers; the chain of heights in front had been covered with redoubts connected by a breast-work; and the naval approaches by the river Patapsco rendered impassable for large ships by vessels sunk across its entrance.

The British had not completed their preparations till the morning of the 12th, when General Ross, accompanied by Admiral Cockburn, landed with about 3270

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troops at North Point, nearly thirteen miles from the city. They pushed forward with a reconnoitring party, and three miles beyond came to a line of intrenchment which the enemy had been actively throwing up, but on their approach precipitately abandoned. After advancing two miles farther, they met another small detachment, partly occupying a thick wood in flank. It immediately fled; but as General Ross turned to order up the light infantry, a ball entered his breast, and he died while being conveyed to the fleet. His fate was deeply regretted, and afforded another striking proof of the fatal accuracy of the American rifle.

The command now devolved on Colonel Brooke, who, called to it in such a critical moment, showed himself not unfit for the emergency. Being joined by the main body, he pushed on against a corps of about 6000 men strongly posted between two rivers, and covered by a wood. He immediately attacked; most of the enemy's regiments at once gave way; and in a quarter of an hour the victory was decided. The Americans had, however, kept up such a brisk fire from the wood, that the British loss amounted to 39 killed and 251 wounded. The former then retired behind their intrenchments, where they were estimated to be 15,000 strong, with a large train of artillery. Colonel Brooke, however, had made arrangements for a night attack, when Sir Alexander Cochrane intimated, that, through the obstructions raised by the enemy, his ships could not approach near enough to second the military movement. It was considered, therefore, by the two commanders, that the latter, though likely to be successful, would risk a degree of loss which the possession of the city would not compensate. They therefore determined on withdrawing the troops, which was safely effected. The decision was probably correct in a mere material view; yet considering the effect on the public mind, something perhaps ought to have been hazarded, rather than have thus stamped a character of total failure on the whole train of operations.*

* James, vol. ii. pp. 307-326, 513.

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Early in this campaign, the Americans made some vigorous attempts on the Canadian frontier. General Wilkinson, with 4000 men from Plattsburg, attacked Colonel Williams, who, with much inferior numbers, held a fortified position at La Colle; but meeting a warm reception, he was obliged to fall back. The British, in May, carried the fort of Oswego, with a considerable amount of ammunition and stores. The main effort of the enemy, however, was on the Niagara frontier, where they had assembled about 5000 men under Generals Brown, Scott, and Ripley. They crossed the channel, and captured Fort Erie with its garrison of 170 men; and then, marching along the left bank, encountered at Chippewa a strong British advanced guard, who, after an obstinate engagement, were driven back into their intrenchments with considerable loss. Riall, their commander, then retreated upon Fort George, followed by Brown; but the latter, finding his opponent stronger than he expected, and his own rear threatened, again fell back upon Chippewa. At Lundy's Lane, in its vicinity, the two armies came unexpectedly on each other; and there ensued a long, confused, and most obstinate conflict. By a singular chance, when the British were hard pressed, General Drummond arrived with a reinforcement from York, and restored the battle. In its prosecution he was wounded, as were also Brown and Scott on the American side, while Riall was taken prisoner. Victory was ultimately claimed by both parties; however, the issue was, that the Americans retired to their camp, and thence to Fort Erie.

Drummond then advanced and laid siege to the place. On the morning of the 15th August, he made an assault with two divisions, and a bastion had been gained, when, chiefly from the explosion of a barrel of powder, he was obliged to retreat with very severe loss. The siege was pressed till the 17th September, when Brown made a skilful and successful sortie, in which he destroyed the principal works of the besiegers, which obliged Drummond to raise the siege, and fall back on Chippewa. Be-

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fore this time, too, in order to relieve the fortress, General Izard had been detached with 5000 men from the main body at Plattsburg. His arrival gave to his countrymen a decided superiority, and the British found it prudent to retreat as far as the old position of Burlington Heights. There, however, fresh reinforcements having completely restored their superiority, Izard was obliged to return to Fort Erie, and even to evacuate that fortress, taking up his winter quarters on the opposite bank. On the whole, in this very chequered and hard-fought campaign, the American army, now mostly composed of regular troops, retrieved its honour, and made displays of talent and valour that placed it on a level with the veteran force to which it was opposed.

In another quarter they gained still more decided laurels. Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada, was enabled, by the reinforcements from Europe, to assemble 11,000 men, with whom he marched upon the American head-quarters at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain; and Captain Downie with a flotilla coasted the lake, ready to co-operate. On the other side, General Macomb, after the detachment of Izard, had scarcely 2000 men, whom he kept carefully intrenched. The hostile forces came into contact on the 11th September; but the naval part engaged first, when, after a conflict of an hour and a half, the British were completely defeated, and a great portion of their ships captured. Sir George then considering it hopeless to expect any important military advantage, withdrew his army into Canada, a step which, considering his great superiority, was very generally censured. On the whole, the prudence of attempting to push offensive operations on this difficult frontier, where Burgoyne had so signally failed, seems very questionable.

Towards the close of the year, the main theatre of war was transferred to the south. New Orleans, from its position at the mouth of the Mississippi, possessed considerable importance; and its population, being mostly foreign, were supposed to be but slightly attached to

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the States' government. Its situation, however, was little known, and, as already observed, remote from any other vital position. As soon as the design of attacking this point became evident, the command was bestowed on General Jackson, who prepared for defence with that uncompromising energy which always marked his character. Suspecting that the Spaniards favoured the invader, he took possession of their fort of Pensacola; and learning afterwards that the legislature of Louisiana had some intention to negotiate, he stopped their proceedings by a military movement. He collected all persons capable of bearing arms, negroes, prisoners, and even marauders; and to maintain discipline among this motley group, proclaimed martial law.

The British force, early in December 1814, arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi. The main trunk of that mighty stream, though capable of admitting ships of war, was so encumbered by trees, and defended by strong forts, as to be considered impracticable. At some distance to the east, however, was a large shallow lake, or more properly bay, named Borgne, the head of which reached nearly to the river, at a point little below New Orleans. The army were landed on an island near its mouth; but the waters were too low to allow the ascent of large vessels, and the Americans had a flotilla strong enough to arrest smaller ones. Forty-two armed boats, under Captain Lockyer, attacked this force, and compelled it to surrender, which enabled the British to forward their troops, though only in successive divisions. The foremost, under Colonel Thornton, was landed on the night of the 21st, upon a swampy wooded spot, and reinforced next day by General Keane to the number of about 3000. They marched upwards along the banks, but being severely annoyed by the fire of two ships in the river, were obliged to seek the shelter of rocks and uneven ground. In this position they were startled by the fire of musketry, and found that Jackson was attacking them with all his disposable force. A confused and obstinate combat ensued, the two armies

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being mixed together amid a deep fog, which rendered it impossible to distinguish friends from foes. Success varied at different points; but the British finally repulsed the assailants, though with the loss of nearly 300 killed, wounded, and missing. It has been surmised by writers on both sides, that had General Keane then pushed directly forward, he might have carried the city, both the garrison and defences being still comparatively weak. In fact, however, neither the main body of the troops nor the two commanders-in-chief had yet arrived.

Jackson having failed in this attempt, formed a line of intrenchment covering New Orleans, and in which, besides the usual defensive materials, he employed bags of cotton, which, by their yielding texture, were almost impervious to cannon. He raised also a battery on the opposite bank, whence the fire might bear upon the main defence, and thus harass the approach of the British. The latter, still annoyed by the fire from the vessels, succeeded by means of red-hot balls in blowing up one and compelling the other to retire.

On the 25th, Generals Pakenham and Gibbs, first and second in command, arrived, bringing additional troops, which raised the whole to upwards of 5000. On the 28th, they pushed forward their artillery, and attempted to storm the American works; but after an obstinate conflict were obliged to retire with the loss of about 100 killed and wounded; and even Mr James admits, that the guns of the defenders were here served in a superior manner. General Pakenham then determined to attempt carrying the place by escalade; previously, however, sending a corps across the river, which might capture the fort there, and turn its fire against the enemy. With this view it was necessary to bring boats from Lake Borgne to the Mississippi, cutting a canal across the separating neck of land. This could not be effected till the 6th January; and the enemy meantime were incessantly strengthening their works, and receiving reinforcements, which, including 2250 Kentuckian rifles, raised their force to above 12,000. The British

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received also two regiments, which made them 7300 strong.

The 8th of January, before daybreak, being appointed for the grand attack, Colonel Thornton was instructed to cross with 1400 men, and capture the opposite battery. In consequence of the unfavourable state of the weather, or some unhappy neglect, the boats were not ready till after sunrise, and thus the best time for both operations was lost. Pakenham, though severely disappointed, resolved to lead on his men under all the disadvantages of daylight and exposure to this cross fire. The Americans allowed them to approach within 300 yards, when they opened a truly murderous discharge from a well served artillery, and the almost unerring Kentucky rifle. A fatal mistake too was discovered. The 44th regiment had been ordered to bring up the fascines, but neglected this duty, and were sent back for them when it was too late. One party, without this aid, succeeded in mounting a bastion, but were unable to maintain their post. The whole force began to waver, and instead of pushing forward, discharged from a distance a useless fire of musketry. The fascines were brought up, but, when they should have been advanced to the batteries, were scattered over the field. Pakenham, rushing to the front, and endeavouring to cheer on his men, was killed on the spot; and Gibbs and Keane were both wounded, the former mortally. General Lambert, commanding the reserve, in vain endeavoured to rally the troops, who precipitately retreated out of the reach of this dreadful fire. Yet Colonel Thornton had completely succeeded against the opposite battery, whence the Kentuckians, so formidable at a distance, hastily fled; but the achievement being now useless, he was immediately recalled. The carnage on the British side was almost without example, amounting to 291 killed, 1262 wounded, and 484 missing. On the other hand, the main force of the enemy, fighting secure under cover, had only six killed and seven wounded. On the western bank, and in an unsuccessful sortie, they had lost 227.

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General Lambert remained a few days in front of the place, but then determined not to attempt another attack, and embarked on the 16th.*

The campaign had thus been honourable for America, and at some points triumphant; yet the government laboured under severe difficulties. A large debt had been incurred, and fresh loans could hardly be raised even on ruinous terms. It had been necessary to impose heavy internal taxes, always odious to the people, and including the unwelcome heads of lands, houses, spirits, and sugar. The nation could no longer, as at first, cherish hopes of conquest, or even of attaining any one object for which the war had been undertaken. Baltimore, at first zealous for its prosecution, now petitioned against it; and the opposition in the New England states assumed daily a more alarming character. There was even, before the end of 1814, a convention held at Hartford, where it was determined to propose certain amendments of the constitution, by which the power of congress to enforce embargoes and to declare war was to be limited. Should this fail, measures were proposed by which the New England states might assume to themselves, separately from the others, the task of national defence.†

Even before this last step, the general administration had felt the urgent need of peace; and they had been spared the humiliation of making the first overtures by an offer of mediation from the Emperor of Russia, which they readily accepted. The British cabinet declined negotiating in this form, but offered to treat directly. This was acceded to; and the place, after being fixed at Gottenburg, was transferred to Ghent. There, in July 1814, Quincy Adams, Bayard, Clay, and Russell, on the American side, met with Gambier, Goulburn and W. Adams, on that of the British.

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* James, vol. ii. p. 338-392. Appendix, p. 523-568. Campaign, &c., p. 252-330.

† Willard, p. 371-394.

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The parties began with mutual professions of a pacific disposition, after which the commissioners from Britain opened their views. They did not aim at any extension of territory, but merely such an arrangement of boundaries as might conduce to future security. Hence they desired the entire command of the lakes, and beyond them a neutral Indian territory to serve as a barrier. A more precise and a favourable settlement of the boundary with Maine and Massachusetts was also desired. The present fishing privileges must be abridged, and the right of impressment acknowledged. The Americans replied that they had no authority to yield any portion of territory, and no idea that their government would surrender their position on the lakes, or their claims on the Indian country. To it they looked as the means of national growth; they had purchased a large portion, and hoped soon to acquire the whole. Nor could they agree to any abridgment of the fishery; and instead of acknowledging the right of impressment, were instructed to demand its renunciation, as well as that of extended blockade; likewise compensation for the injuries sustained by America from these measures. The parties seemed thus very wide of each other; and the Americans transmitted to Washington unfavourable anticipations. It soon appeared, however, that the terms were not meant to be peremptory on either side. In relation to the Indians, the British limited their claim to the including of them in the treaty; and when this was declared incompatible with the States' sovereignty, offered to be satisfied with an agreement that this people should in no shape be molested for the part they had taken in the war. The question of the fishery might be passed over; and in proof of a strong conciliatory spirit, all mention of impressment would be omitted. After these concessions, they proposed the *uti possidetis*, or state of actual possession. The other party having repelled a basis by which they would have lost considerable portions of Maine and Massachusetts, were then asked to give in a counter project. They delivered one, proposing the state

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before the war, the protection of the Indians as desired by Britain, and the reference of the disputed boundary to a friendly power; adding their original demands as to impressment, blockades, and compensation. The project was returned to them with the last three articles expunged, as wholly inadmissible. They had in fact been instructed that these could not now be insisted upon as a *sine qua non;* and therefore, as the other terms were admitted, the treaty was finally agreed to, and signed on the 24th December 1814. Considering that the failure at New Orleans was not then known, the Americans may be considered as having gained conditions fully as advantageous as they had reason to expect.*

The history of the United States has thus been brought to an important epoch, and indeed as far as materials exist for presenting it in a regular and documented form. Here then we shall close the narrative; but it is proposed to introduce at the end of the work a sketch of subsequent events, as complete as the less matured means of information admit, when we shall be enabled to bring the intelligence down to the latest period.

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* American State Papers (Foreign), vol. iii. p. 696-743.

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CHAPTER V.

Political Constitution.

Importance of this Subject—Republican Confederations—Their Inefficiency—A Central Government formed—Its Functions—Those reserved to the States—Questions in regard to the Central Power—How these are decided—Taxation—Public Works—National Bank—Protecting Duties—Embargo—Public Lands—Legislature—Representatives—Senate—Executive—Judiciary—Actual Working of the Constitution—The Democracy—Influence of the Executive—Aristocracy—Labouring Class—State-Legislatures—Township and County Jurisdictions—Imperfect Police, Mobs, Lynch Law—Finances—Debt—State-Revenues and Debts—General Estimate—Military Force—Navy.

THE political constitution of the United States forms the most prominent and fundamental particular in their national arrangements. They place in it their highest pride, and are ambitious of its becoming a model for the rest of the world. Without entering at present into any comparative estimate, we may readily admit, that during more than half a century it has fulfilled the essential purposes of a government, and has been found compatible with the most rapid progress in population and wealth which any nation ever experienced. This result becomes the more remarkable, when contrasted with the bloody anarchy which has distracted the newly formed states in South America, and checked the development of their copious resources. The constitution was in fact composed by a body of men of distinguished ability, who had fully experienced and anxiously sought to guard against the evils to which its peculiar form is

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liable. Most systems have sprung up gradually under the influence of circumstances; or, where designedly framed, they have been the work of single minds, as of Lycurgus, Solon, Numa. The formation of one by a delegated assembly, representing various portions of the community, was a new process, certainly possessing some advantages peculiar to itself.

The government thus formed presented the first example of a representative republic. Those of Greece and Rome had been essentially cities, having each a greater or smaller territory depending upon and supplying its wants. The very terms *polis*, *civitas*, signified equally city and state. The modern republics which sprung up in Italy and Germany had been all of the same description. Necessarily limited in extent and resources, they proved very unequal to contend with the great monarchies that arose in their vicinity, and in which most of them were gradually merged. In seeking to avert this catastrophe, republics have formed leagues or confederations, the general affairs of which were conducted by a diet or council composed of members deputed from each. Such were the Amphyctionic Council in Greece, the Diets of Germany and Switzerland, and recently the Central Junta of Spain. These, however, as Chancellor Kent observes, have proved the most inefficient political institutions ever erected by mankind. The representative council, after forming its decisions, has no means of enforcing them but by issuing orders to the different members, who, being sovereign states, obey or not as they please. In the latter case, which is always frequent, there is no resource but to summon the other members to make war on the refractory; a cumbrous and difficult process, which scarcely ever succeeds. Accordingly, the central power in such associations, after a certain interval, almost invariably sinks into a state of nullity.

The original congress, formed in 1774, had been a body of this description, elected by the states, and its orders executed only through their intervention. All

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the defects of the system had been then most strikingly manifested. Their military and financial condition, as already observed, had sunk into such complete inefficiency, that only the aid of France, and the exhaustion of Britain, saved them from final subjugation. In 1784, the regular army consisted of eighty men. The finances, the public debt, the commercial arrangements, were in a state of utter neglect. The able men, on whom the task of forming a new arrangement devolved, soon perceived that to possess any efficiency, it must be not a league, but a government; it must have a revenue, an army, navy, and all the means of action proper to itself, without any concurrence of the states. The latter, however, were very little inclined to part with extensive prerogatives, which they had hitherto almost exclusively exercised; and the contest, as formerly observed, was long and severe. Yet Washington and the other leading statesmen, having had deep experience of the inefficacy of state-governments, were determined not only to form a central one, but to make it powerful and predominant. After hard struggles, and being obliged to submit to many modifications, they at length succeeded. A distribution of power was made between the two systems, on the following principles.

The central government, called that of the United States, and sometimes of the Union, was intrusted with the following functions:—

The right of declaring war and concluding peace; the levying, disciplining, and commanding the army and navy, and punishing piracy. They could also provide for organizing the militia, and call out any portion to suppress insurrection and invasion; but the training of that body and the appointment of its officers were reserved to the states.

Treaties and alliances with foreign states, the appointment of ambassadors and other public ministers.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations, of that between the several states, and with the Indian tribes.

The levying of taxes to provide for the above objects; and, when necessary, the contracting and paying of debts.

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The duties were to be uniform in their objects and amount over the whole Union.

The establishment of a supreme court, having power to determine all questions arising out of the above functions, also those between state and state, or between citizens of one and those of another. This court possesses also the high prerogative of deciding on all disputes affecting the limits of the jurisdiction between the general and state administrations.

The admission of new states into the Union.

The disposal of public lands, and other property belonging to the Union.

Several minor branches, as the post-office department; coinage of money, and the punishment of forgery; the laws relative to naturalization and bankruptcy; the right of granting patents of invention.

All these powers were prohibited to the states, except those of raising a revenue and training the militia, with regard to which they were allowed a concurrent jurisdiction. Those, on the other hand, not expressly granted to the general government, were understood as reserved to them. These, however, besides the concurrent ones already noticed, scarcely include more than the administration of justice, local improvements, the disposal of state property, and the arrangements for education.

In contemplating the question, how far this constitution should be liable to alteration, the framers seem to have deeply felt the inexpediency of rash and hasty changes in fundamental provisions; yet not to have wished entirely to shut the door against them. They therefore ordained, that amendments might be proposed, whenever two-thirds of both houses should agree, or when that proportion of the state legislatures should make application for them. They were then to be ratified, if agreed to by the legislatures, or by conventions of the people, in three-fourths of the states.

This constitution, being at length accepted by a majority throughout the Union, was submitted to without

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further opposition even by its most determined opponents. Though still ranking themselves anti-federalists, they were contented studiously to interpret every disputable clause in favour of the side which they espoused. Several questions of this kind have deeply agitated the Union, and sometimes even threatened its dissolution.

The first and most fundamental one respects the obligation under which the states and their citizens were laid to observe this constitution. According to the highest anti-federalists, it is merely a compact or treaty, by which, still retaining their full sovereign character, they intrust these powers to the general government, with the right of withdrawing them at pleasure. Rawle maintains, that any state when it chooses may secede from the Union. The most distinguished jurists, however, repel decidedly this interpretation. Story and Webster consider the above terms as applicable only to engagements between independent powers; while the deed in question constitutes a permanent government, a fundamental rule, the supreme law of the land. It was established, not by the states, but by the whole people of the Union in their corporate capacity, assembled in conventions, and thus only could it ever be abrogated. Till then, the states are bound to obey the mandates of the supreme government, when issued in the execution of its appointed powers; and any act inconsistent with these orders is in its very nature null and void. The only plea that could be urged would be one of such extreme necessity as to be *extra* and *ultra* the constitution, when all the bands of law are broken, and revolution succeeds. We observe, however, that popular statesmen, as Jackson and Madison, employ the term compact, but still as a solemn and irrevocable deed, not one that can be recalled at pleasure.*

We are not aware that this main question has ever led to any practical collision; but the case is otherwise

* Story's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 302-308, 330-332.

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with a subordinate yet highly important one. It could not be supposed but that in the course of political events doubts must arise respecting the interpretation of some of its clauses; and the question was, by whom these were to be decided. A claim has in several instances been made, that each state should interpret for itself, and be entitled to consider as null and void, any law or mandate of congress which appeared to its legislature not sanctioned by the constitution. This pretension has been put forward at different times by individual states, and was the chief basis of the great Carolina nullification. Its supporters suggested, as a conciliatory course, that a common arbiter should be chosen to decide between the state and the general government. The high jurists, however, peremptorily and entirely reject this claim. They ask, what must be the consequence of twenty-four states interpreting each for itself every power and obligation created by the constitution. The most opposite decisions have been given by different assemblies, and by the same at different times. If these were all carried out, utter confusion would ensue, issuing in the general breaking up of the Union. But what then is the remedy against usurpation by the general government? The immediate recourse is announced to be an appeal to the supreme court of the United States, which, as already stated, and will be more fully explained, is empowered to decide on the highest constitutional questions. The supremacy of the constitution, and the right of this court to determine all cases under it, are considered by Mr Webster as the two fundamental provisions, the keystone of the arch; with them there is a government, without them a mere confederacy. The ulterior appeal must be to the people, either at the frequent ordinary elections, or by conventions, which may be called for by three-fourths of the state legislatures. In fact, though detached assemblies have from time to time started this pretension, they have never been supported by the general body. Story mentions that, in 1799, Massachusetts and six other states united in giving

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their assent to federal principles on this subject; and that larger numbers have on other occasions concurred.*

The particular points on which collision seemed most likely to arise were those involving a concurrent jurisdiction. Thus taxes may be imposed both by the general and state governments for their respective purposes; and these are levied from the same persons and in the same localities. Each may lay a duty upon the same article, so heavy that the aggregate cannot possibly be levied. The *Federalist*, quoted by Kent, seems to think that the party which first imposed the tax must retain the preferable right, leaving to the other only what surplus remains, and that collision must be avoided by mutual forbearance. Kent, however, questions what is to be done, if this virtue, as too often happens, should be absent; and maintains that the Union must in every instance have the prior claim, and the states must give way where it interferes. Story seems to concur in this opinion. It is urged, that congress might thus absorb the whole revenue of the country, leaving nothing for the local governments. This cannot be denied, and the only dependence must still be on the forbearance of that body, which is likely to exercise the power with moderation. No collision, in fact, has ever taken place upon this subject, congress having avoided as much as possible levying internal taxes.†

It is otherwise with the militia question. In 1812, the president called upon a part of the militia of Massachusetts and Connecticut to co-operate in the war against England. The legislatures of those states, being adverse to the contest, maintained that they were the proper judges when this step should be taken, and had also the appointment of the officers who were then to command. They obtained even an opinion, though not a decision, from three judges of the supreme court in their favour.

* Story's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 341-363. Webster's Speeches, 2 vols, Boston, 1835, vol. i. p. 167.

† Kent's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 392, 393. Story, vol. ii. p. 412.

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President Madison, not without some reason, declared next session that the United States, as regarded national defence, were thus no longer one people. In 1827, however, in the cases of Martin *v.* Mott, and Houston *v.* Moore, Judges Story and Washington decided that the president had an absolute power to call out the militia of any state for general service; and the states agreed to withdraw their pretension.*

Another subject open to controversy is that relating to public works and improved communications. These might, in fact, be carried on by both parties without collision, but with only a certain degree of mutual concert; and congress were for some time accustomed to appropriate considerable sums to this object. It was then however argued, that their operations ought to be confined to post-roads, naval seaports, fortifications, and works connected with general objects; but that with regard to canals, roads, and other local improvements, they were not so well qualified to judge as the states through whose territory these were to pass, while their distribution would probably be affected by intrigue, favouritism, and electioneering influences. President Monroe, in his message of 1817, expressed an opinion, that this power was not constitutionally vested in congress, and, in 1822, he objected to an instance of its exercise; and President Jackson was so strongly impressed with these views, that he opposed a determined veto to every bill having that tendency. The case has never come before the courts; but congress appear to have yielded, and the principle seems now established, that such improvements shall be carried on solely under the direction of the state governments.†

Much discussion has also been excited regarding a class of powers said to be *implied*. It is argued, that whatever function is assigned to the general government, every power necessary or eminently conducive

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* Kent, vol. i. p. 263-266. Story, vol. iii. p. 90.
† Presidents' Messages.

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to its execution, though not expressed, is necessarily conjoined with it. Anti-federalists, on the other hand, contend, that this is a very vague mode of interpretation, and if strictly followed out, might be made to confer almost any prerogative whatever. A question of this kind, which has strongly agitated the Union, is that of a national bank. The constitution was silent on the subject; but it authorized the raising of a revenue, for which purpose such an institution afforded obvious facilities, and the right to establish it might seem virtually granted to the federal government. In 1791, congress passed a bill to this effect; but when it was presented to Washington for approval, Jefferson, then secretary of state, and Madison, attorney-general, drew up a written remonstrance, urging him to interpose his *veto*. The constitution authorized congress to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the enumerated powers; but a national bank, though convenient for collecting a revenue, could not be pretended to be so indispensably necessary that the operation might not be performed by other means. The deed gave no right to establish a bank, or even any corporation whatever; and congress, in assuming the privilege to do any thing which might be judged merely convenient for effecting its purposes, would be entering upon a boundless and quite undefined field of power. Hamilton, however, then secretary to the treasury, drew up an answer, contending that the central government, as a sovereign power, had the inherent right to charter a corporation, not as an end, but as a means for carrying out its authorized functions. The term *necessary* could not be, nor was it generally, understood in the rigid sense applied by his colleagues. It was enough that the institution was needful, requisite, incidental, useful, or conducive to the end. Scarcely any thing could be so indispensable that the desired object might not be effected in some other manner; but if the one proposed was much preferable, its adoption might properly be said to be necessary. These argu-

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ments convinced Washington, who gave his assent to the bill. In 1819, the supreme court sanctioned the institution in deciding the case M'Culloch *v.* State of Maryland, and afterwards in that of Osborn *v.* United States Bank. Jackson, although he made war with such violence against the bank, did not dispute the right of congress, though he maintained that some of the clauses were unconstitutional, and that it ought to be chartered on a new basis. Even afterwards, when he decided altogether against such an institution, he condemned it only on the ground of inexpediency.*

Another question, which had nearly led to the dissolution of the Union is, whether congress have a right to lay duties upon imported articles, with the view of favouring native manufactures. This power was long exercised, and under the tariff of 1828 was carried to an exorbitant height. The southern states, who felt severely aggrieved by its pressure, thought they discovered that no such power was conveyed by the original deed; and South Carolina, claiming, as already observed, the privilege of interpreting for herself, commenced her daring career of nullification. The advocates of congress rest upon the following sentence: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises, *to pay* the debts and provide for the common defence and *general welfare* of the United States." They urged that the part of the sentence commencing *to pay* is wholly distinct from the preceding one, and that there is therefore conveyed a power to provide for the general welfare by other means than those of revenue. We cannot but think this somewhat strained, and incline to agree with Jefferson, that *to pay* means *for the purpose* of paying. The votaries of restriction dwell chiefly on the argument, that if this power is not conveyed by the constitution, it cannot exist at all, although it is, as they allege, essential to the national

* Kent, vol. i. p. 249-254. Story, vol. iii. p. 127-135. Moulton's History of the Bank. New York, 1834.

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welfare. We suspect, however, that the statesmen of the revolution were attached to the principles of commercial liberty, and strangers to the illiberal views now prevalent among a numerous party. The contest, as already mentioned, was settled by a practical compromise, each party continuing to maintain its own principles. Congress is supported by high legal authorities; while the Carolinians maintained, that if the system were brought anew into actual operation, they would again resist as before.*

The embargo laid in 1807 on all the shipping of the United States was assailed, not only as absurd and pernicious, but as unauthorized by the constitution. It was professedly not a war measure, and the power granted of regulating commerce could not, it was said, imply that of annihilating it. Story considers it as going to the utmost verge of the constitution, and only to be supported by the most liberal construction; yet it was adopted by Jefferson and others who usually stood out for the most rigid one. The supreme court, however, decided that, though congress could not, as a permanent measure, destroy commerce, it might suspend it for a certain period; and that though no time in this instance was specified, the understanding was, that it should be only temporary.

The acquisition by purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon, and of Florida from Spain, were very peculiar transactions, which the framers of the constitution could not foresee, and had certainly made no express provision for. Story considers them too as justifiable only under the most liberal interpretation. Yet congress received the power of war, in which was obviously implied that of territorial acquisition; also of treaties, without any limitation as to their terms. The arrangements were considered so very desirable, that the nation felt not at all disposed to criticise their legality; and only a few speculative politicians raised a voice against them.†

* Story, vol. ii. p. 520-526.
† Ibid. vol. iii. pp. 156, 160, 196.

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The United States government have become possessed by conquest or purchase of a vast extent of landed territory, the sale of which yields a large revenue. The states, especially those newly established in the west, whose territory consists in a great measure of such lands, have advanced urgent claims for the proceeds of the portion lying within their own boundary. These, however, have been overruled. There could not be any original property in these domains except that of the Indians, who held them by the right of occupancy. They had been acquired from them either by conquest or purchase, both operations carried on by the general government, and out of the common resources of the Union. They had often been in this manner acquired even before the formation of the states in whose limits they are now situated. The principle, however, seems established, that the proceeds, when not urgently wanted for general purposes, shall be divided among the states for objects of internal improvement.

The powers of the central government having been thus fixed, its composition and materials came under consideration. The framers, in accordance with the general claim and expectation of the nation, were prepared to place it on a decidedly popular basis. Yet they were not imbued with any superstitious reverence for the voice of the multitude, the capricious fluctuations of which many of them had painfully experienced. They were much disposed to introduce provisions for breaking its force, and securing to its action somewhat of a deliberate character. In constituting the three leading departments, legislative, executive, and judicial, they were impressed with the importance of making them distinct and independent, though with such connexions and ramifications as might enable them to exercise a salutary influence upon each other.

The legislature naturally takes the lead as supreme, and that which dictates to all the others, particularly in a system from which every thing arbitrary is to be excluded, and law made the sole regulator. Its func-

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tions in a republic were of course to be intrusted to a national assembly; and the question arose at the outset, whether it was to consist of a single body, or of two, whose concurrence should be necessary for every enactment. The first course appears the most simple and natural; and it is remarkable, that the ablest speculative politicians, Milton, Turgot, Mackintosh, and Franklin, have pronounced in its favour. The last compared two houses to a wagon with a horse at each end, pulling in opposite directions, and so preventing all movement. Experience, however, leads to a very different conclusion. The danger of a popular assembly arises from precipitate and excessive legislation. A single body is subject to sudden and strong excitement, to be governed by passion, caprice, hasty impressions, personal influence, and party intrigue. Any power, even of popular origin, if wholly unchecked, almost inevitably degenerates into tyranny. All these evil effects were conspicuous in the Italian republics of the middle ages, which, amid brilliant displays of energy, presented constant scenes of turbulence and bloodshed. They had painfully marked the career of congress under the confederation. Still more fatal examples have since been afforded by the French national assembly of 1791, and convention of 1793. Pennsylvania and Georgia had each at one time only a single house, but both, instructed by experience, adopted a second. It has indeed been observed, that no republic in which there was not a senate has had any long duration.

On these grounds, the legislative power was vested in two bodies, the house of representatives and the senate. The former was essentially popular, elected directly by the great body of the nation. The most important question was the qualification to be required in the electors. Some of the framers would have desired much to establish one founded on property; but the spirit of the people probably ran too strongly against it. The only modification admitted was, that the electors should possess the same requisites as those who nominated to

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the most numerous branch of the state legislatures. This tended to conciliate the latter bodies, and in some instances implied a small amount of property; yet upon the whole, the arrangement did not materially depart from universal suffrage. An age of twenty-five years, a citizenship of seven, and residence at the time in the electing state, were also required. The apportionment was made according to population, as the most simple and popular. Another question respected the number of members of which the house should consist. The making it too small would tend to produce a contracted and exclusive spirit, with liability to influence and bribery. On the other hand, a very numerous body is liable to tumultuary proceedings, lengthy and tedious deliberations. De Retz has even asserted, that every assembly above a hundred must be a mob; but this does not seem confirmed by experience. Yet this apprehension seems to have strongly influenced the convention, since they fixed that the proportion should not exceed one in 30,000. Hence, the original number was 65, with the provision, that every ten years a census should be taken, and a corresponding adjustment made. In 1792, the number was 106, being one in 33,000; and till 1842 the proportion always diminished, yet through the rapid increase of population, the absolute number increased. In that year, congress, apprehensive seemingly of their body becoming too large, made a reduction even on the actual members.

In 1802,	one in	33,000	gave	141	members.
1811,	...	35,000	...	181	...
1822,	...	40,000	...	210	...
1832,	...	47,700	...	240	...
1842,	...	70,880	...	223*	...

The senate was composed on a basis entirely different, consisting of two members elected by each state legislature. This very dissimilar frame is considered by

* Story, vol. ii. p. 136. American Almanac, 1842, p. 58; 1843, pp. 95, 96.

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Tocqueville as an oversight, the evils of which have been prevented only by accident. Story, on the contrary, argues that this body being designed as a check upon the representatives, and their tendency to rash and hasty legislation, the very object was to make the composition as unlike as possible, consistent with the common popular origin. There has never, in fact, been any injurious collision between the two houses. The large states complained of being thus placed on an equality with the small, and many predicted that the Union would be rent by the conflict between these two classes; but the apprehension has proved unfounded.

The object being to give to this part of the legislature a superior stability, its duration was fixed at six years. To avoid, however, its acquiring a too rigid and inflexible character, one-third of the number was to be changed every two years. The senator was required to have been nine years a citizen, and to have attained the age of thirty.

The functions of this house were made co-ordinate with those of the representatives, having the right of originating bills, though this is more usually done in the lower house. The latter alone can propose those for raising a revenue, though the senate may suggest amendments,—a privilege denied to the British house of lords; but this is because the latter in no way depends upon the people. The consent of the senate is required to all treaties, and to all official appointments made by the executive.

The arrangements for the impeachment of public officers occupied much attention among the framers. A number were of opinion that this function should devolve on the supreme court. It was considered, however, that breaches of official duty cannot be reduced to strict legal and technical rules: they require broad views and much exercise of discretion. The proposed course might render the judges too political, and left no provision for themselves being impeached. Next to them, the senate were manifestly the most fixed and dignified body:

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they most nearly resembled the house of lords, whose jurisdiction in this point had been found to work well. While the latter, however, can inflict the highest civil and personal penalties, the senate is only allowed that of removal from office; the lower house, as with us, receiving the sole power of originating impeachments. These enactments were made under the expectation that such proceedings would be frequent; yet, in fact, during the lapse of half a century, only four instances have occurred. These were, William Blount, in 1799; Samuel Chase, in 1805; John Pickering, in 1803; James H. Peck, in 1831. Only one was convicted, the other three acquitted; and the sentence in each case is said to have commanded general approbation. The check of popular opinion has been found so strong, and the means of removing any obnoxious public officer so ready, as to give rare occasion for this extreme remedy.*

The houses could adjourn by their own authority; but the consent of both was required to do so for more than three days. The members received a salary, with travelling expenses, and were privileged from arrest during the period of their attendance. They could not hold any office under the United States, nor be appointed to any one that had been created, or its emoluments increased, during their period of service.

The executive department was obviously of the highest importance, and the adjustment of its functions required peculiar delicacy. Many of the leading framers were strongly impressed with the importance of giving to it strength and union, the absence of which qualities in the confederation was considered one chief cause of its inefficiency. A weak executive and a bad one were regarded as synonymous. Yet there was no measure more likely to give alarm to the people, among many of whom it was even a maxim, that much power in this branch was incompatible with republican government.

The first question was, whether it should be exercised

* Story, vol. ii. p. 248-256.

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by a single officer, or, as in Rome, by two consuls with equal power; and if, according to the almost universal opinion, there should be but one chief magistrate, whether he was to be placed under the control of a council. This last measure having been common in the state governments, its consequences had been fully apparent. Cabals, delays, a feeble, slow, and inconsistent action, had been the uniform consequence. After much discussion, it was determined to vest the uncontrolled executive power in a single individual.

The debate then turned on the duration which should be assigned to the chief magistrate's functions. Such was the disposition to strengthen them, that Hamilton, Madison, and Jay proposed making it for life or good behaviour. Against this, however, the public mind strongly revolted, as rendering him, in fact, an elective king, with a probability of the office becoming hereditary. After many discussions, a first draft was formed, fixing the period at seven years, without the capacity of being re-elected; but it was finally established at four years, without any restriction as to re-appointment. Story, though generally disposed to view the arrangements favourably, considers the period too short, and the safety of its operation by no means decided; yet it may be observed, that the dreaded violence of the excitement attending the election would be always increased in proportion to the length of the period. Tocqueville considers the power of re-election as a capital error, the president being thereby tempted to seek prolongation of office by a corrupt use of his influence and patronage, and by truckling to the capricious inclinations of the people. Story, on the other hand, urges with apparent reason, that he may be prompted to seek the object by laudable means, and is likely to have gained useful experience.* It is difficult to foresee whether a man will be well qualified for a particular office till the trial has been made, and if this be suc-

* Tocqueville, vol. i. p. 199-203. Story, vol. iii. p. 284-295.

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cessful, to supersede him seems a questionable policy. The arrangement certainly tends to give additional weight to the executive, which M. de Tocqueville admits to be a desirable object. The examples, however, of Washington and Jefferson, though prompted probably by individual motives, seem to have established the precedent, that no attempt shall be made to retain office for more than two terms of four years; while, on the other hand, unless particular odium has been incurred, or there has been a change in the political sentiments of the nation, re-election for the second term has become almost the regular course.

The mode of nominating this high functionary, or temporary king, was a matter of peculiar difficulty, and in elective monarchies it has been usually a fruitful occasion of trouble. In the first draft he was to be chosen by the legislature, which might seem the most dignified and orderly course; but on farther consideration it was judged that the two powers being intended as mutual checks, this object would be entirely frustrated by rendering the one dependent on the other. There was experience of this in the legislature of Virginia, who, having the appointment of their governor, were accustomed to issue to him regular mandates, rendering themselves the real executive and him only their servant. A field would also be opened for cabal, personal solicitation, and influence. It was therefore determined to lodge the power with the people, causing them however to proceed in so circuitous a manner as might break the force of the excitement inevitably arising on such a canvass. The arrangements were intrusted to the legislatures of the states, who in some cases exercise the right themselves, though the authority to do this has been doubted. More commonly they divide their territory into districts, or issue what are termed general tickets, when the choice devolves upon the body of the people. It is never, however, made directly, but by naming a body of electors equal to the number of members which the state sends to congress. These persons, who must neither be senators, representatives, nor office-

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holders under the Union, meet and vote in distinct ballots for two persons to be president and vice-president; but one of them at least must not belong to the state. This indirect course of proceeding might, it was expected, lead to a more independent and deliberate choice, and lessen the evil of popular commotion. The first object, Mr Story informs us, has completely failed, since every elector goes pledged to the meeting; nor has the second been more fortunate, since the vehemence of the party-spirit displayed can scarcely be exceeded; yet it has not hitherto produced any disastrous effects. The two names are then transmitted under seal to the president of the senate, who opens the documents in presence of the two houses; and the person having in his favour a majority of the whole electors becomes president. If there be no individual having such a majority, then out of the three who have obtained the highest numbers, a selection is made by the house of representatives, deciding on this occasion by states, the representation from each having one vote; but a majority of them must concur in the choice. This privilege actually devolved upon the house in 1825, when they named Mr Quincy Adams. Since that time, the strenuous contests waged between the two great parties have always led to a concentration of interest upon one rival candidate on each side.

The person is in like manner chosen vice-president who is named for that office by a majority of the whole electoral votes. If none possess this advantage, the choice is made by the senate out of the two having the highest numbers. This officer is destined to supply the place of his superior, whenever prevented by any cause from exercising his functions; and if that cause be death, the substitution continues during his whole term of office. The same is the case if the election of the president has devolved upon the representatives, and not been made by them before a certain date. The excitement from elections speedily following each other was thus avoided. Hence Mr Tyler, through the sudden death of General Harrison, will have been president for nearly the whole

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four years. It is a curious result of this arrangement, that these two officers seldom coincide exactly in political opinion, and sometimes, as in the case of Adams and Jefferson in 1797, are directly opposed to each other. The inconvenience is the less, however, as the functions of the second officer are nearly nominal, except a vacancy occur. To afford him some employment, he is made president of the senate,—a plan which has been thought inconsistent with the rights of that body, though a similar one obtains in the house of lords. Mr Story conceives, that the appointment by the house itself would have occasioned a perilous state-rivalry; yet this consideration has not excluded it from naming all its other officers.*

The president exercises nearly the same functions as the sovereign of Great Britain, with the following exceptions:—Congress only has the power of declaring war or concluding peace. He cannot sanction any treaty without the concurrence of two-thirds of the senate. The consent of that body is also required to the appointment of all civil and diplomatic officers. He can exercise a veto upon bills presented to him by congress, provided two-thirds of both houses did not concur. This privilege was granted as a protection to his own power, and a guard against precipitate legislation, but under an expectation that it would be very sparingly exercised. Such was for a long time the case; but within the last ten or twelve years it has been applied to some of the most leading objects of national policy.

The right of nomination to all offices was that most strongly objected to, and represented as conferring a power almost despotic. It was carried by the federal interest, under the modification that the consent of two-thirds of the senate should be required. The constitution was silent as to that of removal, which came soon under discussion before congress. High authorities maintained, that it too ought at least to require the sanction of the senate; but Madison and Laurence

* Story, vol iii. p. 309-321.

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argued that it was implied in that of appointment, and would often be inconveniently delayed till the meeting of that body. An officer so high as the president could not be supposed to exercise it from personal or unjust motives, and, if he did, would be liable to impeachment. The measure was carried in congress by a majority of twelve, but in the senate only by the casting-vote of the vice-president. Mr Story supposes even this narrow consent chiefly secured by confidence in the character of Washington, who, as well as his successor Adams, used the right very sparingly, and only in cases of obvious propriety. Jefferson first introduced its political exercise, by removing active opponents of his administration; yet the whole number so displaced, during his term of eight years, was only thirty-nine. Madison and Monroe were extremely moderate; Quincy Adams, in four years, removed only two. Jackson began the system of making a complete sweep of existing public functionaries, and supplying their place with those attached to his administration; in less than a year he had made 1473 removals. He even, in his first message, defends the system, urging that these offices were apt to be considered as private property; that their long tenure led often to abuse; and that those dismissed were in no worse situation than the millions who never had any such dependence. This reasoning seems to be fallacious; a person who has spent a number of years in one employment, has lost the habits and connexions fitted to secure success in any other. Eminent men may be dazzled by the splendour of the higher offices; but the subordinate situations, when temporary, can only attract those who hang loose upon society, either wanting the requisites for making their way in a profession, or having failed in the attempt; who seek, as Tocqueville expresses it, to conduct public business, because they have proved incompetent for their own. This class may include deserving individuals; but the general presumption must be against it. There will be an obvious tendency to use the short and uncertain term in making

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money by any means; and this system has accordingly, we believe, been followed by a great extent of corruption. The bad example has been adopted by the state governments, where it has been still more injurious from the shorter tenure of executive offices.*

The judiciary was the third grand branch which the framers specially studied to render powerful and independent. It was early foreseen, that the laws of the central government would be very imperfectly executed if submitted to the decision of thirteen or more detached state tribunals. It was requisite that the former should have a supreme court of its own, taking cognizance of all cases belonging to the federal jurisdiction. These were defined to be such as arose under its constitution, and laws and treaties made or to be made under its authority;—all cases affecting ambassadors and other public ministers or consuls;—all those of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—controversies in which the United States should be a party;—those arising between two or more states;—between a state and citizens of another;—between citizens of different states;—between those of the same one claiming lands under grants of different states;—between a state or its citizens, and the citizens or subjects of foreign powers. Diplomatic questions, and those in which a state was a party, came before it as objects of original jurisdiction; all others could come only by appeal from the provincial courts. These last cases, according to Kent, are by far the most numerous. It has also the privilege of determining what subjects come under its own jurisdiction; so that the judges could absorb the whole legal power in the Union; yet they have not been accused of a disposition so to extend their prerogative. They cannot, it may be observed, issue any orders or instructions to the state courts, but must wait till an appellate case comes before them.

* Story, vol. ii. p. 343-350; vol. iii. p. 394-398. Presidents' Messages, p. 360.

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It hence appears that this tribunal must enjoy a jurisdiction superior perhaps to that of any other in the world. Even sovereign powers are summoned before it. This, as Tocqueville observes, is very strikingly exhibited, when the clerk of court is heard reading: "The State of New York *versus* the State of Ohio;" that is, three millions against two millions of men. It possesses the still higher right to set aside even the laws passed by the united legislature, if decided to be inconsistent with the written constitution. Such a power sounds to us as anomalous; yet Story observes, that the above named deed having been declared to be the supreme *law* of the land, its infraction comes naturally before a legal tribunal. It is quite different in Britain, where there is no law but the acts of the legislature, against which the courts cannot possibly decide. The United States tribunal, it is observable, cannot oppose the passing of any law, nor obstruct the executive in its execution. The proposal was once made to give to it a joint veto along with the president; but this was considered likely to make it too political, and also to connect it too closely with him. A party, then, who considers the law as unconstitutional, must disobey it, and sustain a prosecution before the supreme judges. If they decide in his favour, the act stands as repealed; and Story even conceives this decision irrevocable by any future judges, as precedent fixes the statute law of England. This lofty jurisdiction has been occasionally disputed by one or two states, and is still, we believe, not allowed by South Carolina. On the whole, however, during a period of fifty years, it has been generally recognised throughout the Union.*

The supreme judges are nominated by the president, with consent of the senate. They hold office during life or good behaviour, receiving a fixed salary, which cannot be diminished, but also cannot be increased,

* Kent, vol. i. pp. 314, 315. Story, vol. i. p. 360-368. Tocqueville, vol. i. pp. 141, 224.

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during their incumbency. Under this last head, it has been complained that their tenure may continue so long as to cause a change in the expense of living, rendering the restriction a hardship. Tocqueville remarks, that although their forms and procedure be judicial, their prerogative is really political, regulating the relations of the government with the citizens, and of the nation with foreign powers. Hence, he infers, that "the peace, the prosperity, and the very existence of the Union are vested in the hands of the seven judges;" and he dreads the most serious consequences should they ever become corrupt or profligate. They are, however, liable to impeachment; and it is perhaps of more consequence, that from the conspicuous place which they occupy, the president and senate could scarcely concur in appointing any but men of the highest character. They themselves must have the strongest motives to maintain and elevate, and very few to sacrifice, this reputation. The fact is, that it appears to have been continually rising. Chancellor Kent, though belonging himself to the New York judiciary, considers them in this respect, as well as in the extent of jurisdiction, superior to all the state tribunals. It is remarkable that the decisions between 1790 and 1801 were so few as to be included in a part of the third volume of Dallas' Reports; but from 1801 to 1815, they comprised by themselves nine volumes; and are said to form now a solid and magnificent collection, destined to throw into the shade all others in the Union.*

Having thus endeavoured to delineate the scheme or design of the United States constitution, we shall now attempt to trace its actual result and working during its duration of fifty years. This subject has been viewed with intense interest, not only by American statesmen, but by the world in general. It has been the first trial of a republican constitution on an extensive scale; and in respect to it the opinion of observers has greatly varied,

* Kent, vol. i. p. 442. Tocqueville, vol. i. p. 224-226.

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being much biassed by preconceived political opinions. The estimate now to be made will be studiously founded upon undoubted facts or the observations of Americans themselves. An attempt will also be made, without becoming involved in the politics of the day, to estimate the light which may hence be thrown upon important questions that may arise in British legislation.

It seems undeniable that the constitution has, in a general sense, succeeded; it has even been boasted by successive presidents that this success has been brilliant.* It has maintained, with very few exceptions, internal peace, with security of person and property, among a numerous and rapidly increasing people. It has been accompanied even by a more rapid growth in population and wealth than was ever observed in any other nation. No other, indeed, possessed such immense natural advantages; yet we incline to believe, that the stir and movement of a popular government were instrumental in exciting that spirit of enterprise which has been exerted in opening up the resources of a vast unoccupied region. The stationary and stagnant state in which, with equal means and resources, the French Canadians have remained, indicates an active agency, in this respect, of political influences. The same cause probably produces, in a more tempered degree, the commercial activity of Britain; and the Americans also share and carry to excess the spirit of rash and hasty speculation. The disastrous effects of this have been sufficiently known to the world; yet we have been assured by an intelligent American, that while the commercial world has seemed involved in a general convulsion, the agricultural and other substantial interests continued in a deep under-current to advance without interruption.

The most prominent feature, of which it is peculiarly important to estimate the effects, is the almost purely democratic basis on which the government rests. Re-

* Presidents' Messages, Adams, p. 68. Jefferson, p. 93. Monroe, pp. 209, 283. Quincy Adams, p. 295. Jackson, p. 555. Van Buren, p. 603.

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presentatives to congress being, as already observed, elected by the same body as the state assemblies, the result is very nearly universal suffrage. The exclusion of the slaves in the southern states forms a severe exception; but the others are unimportant. In a comparison, however, with the British system, it is observable that the remuneration of the labourer in America is considerably larger, and his situation thence more comfortable, while there are much fewer needy and nearly destitute individuals. A very large proportion also derive their support from property, especially in land divided into small lots, tilled by the hands of the owner, and of which the value is likely to increase. Property is a highly conservative element; and a man thus situated is not very likely to engage in measures tending to its subversion. It seems also admitted, that the lower ranks are superior in intelligence to the same grade in Europe. This indeed has been exaggerated, especially as relates to acquired knowledge. It consists rather in that energy and sagacity which arise in an unformed society from each individual having to push his way through untried situations, and overcome by contrivance unexpected obstacles. This kind of talent has been noticed by Smith as generally possessed among rude nations, and liable to be impaired in a civilized state, when each labourer has a single mechanical task allotted to him. The loss can only be remedied by studious culture, of which, as we shall see, and Dr Channing admits, only a small portion has been yet diffused through the American labouring class. Yet such culture seems requisite for enabling them to estimate the extensive and complex bearings of political measures, which have a result often very different from what on a superficial view might be expected. This task cannot be compassed by mere homely natural shrewdness, seeing, however distinctly, only what is straight before it. "The people," says Dr Channing, "ought to study in earnest the interest of the country, the principles of our institutions, the tendencies of public measures. But the unhappiness is, *they do not study*."

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The influence of this defect is sufficiently evident in the legislative measures, many of which are marked by a somewhat peculiar absence of wisdom. The embargo of 1808, stopping at once and for an indefinite period the whole commerce of a great nation, is perhaps the most absurd measure ever adopted by any government. Next we may class the non-intercourse bill, and in a lower grade the exorbitant tariff, and afterwards the attempt, in the circumstances of the nation, to introduce an exclusively gold currency. All these measures, except the tariff, were adopted by democratic rulers, and under democratic influence. We must own that the people manifest by no means an obstinate adherence to their errors; but as soon as they begin severely to smart under them, revert even with eagerness to the opposite course. The misfortune however is, that they no sooner emerge out of one false step than they plunge into another, and are thus constantly suffering under some blunder. Mr Combe indeed exults in the thought of the instruction they are affording to mankind, by exhausting and displaying every political error which can possibly be committed; yet it is surely at a heavy cost to themselves that they are bestowing these lessons upon the world.

Another defect, which all observers recognise in the American government, is its instability. All the circumstances tending to produce this quality are here, according to Tocqueville, in full operation. "America is at the present day the country in the world where laws endure the shortest time.—Not that the American democracy is naturally less stable than any other, but that it is allowed to follow its capricious propensities in the formation of the laws." When Captain Hall was at Washington, there were, of 213 representatives, only eight who had served above ten years; and of 48 senators, only five. Story mentions that of the former body nearly half are changed every two years. "What," says he, in certainly very plain language, "are our voluminous and ever-changing codes, but monuments of

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deficient wisdom, hasty resolves, and still more hasty repeals! What are they but admonitions to the people of the dangers of rash and premature legislation,—of ignorance that knows not its own mistakes, or of overweening confidence which heeds not its own follies!" We must, however, frankly state that, till the decisions of the majority become a little wiser, we cannot wish to see them assume a greater fixity. It would doubtless be desirable, as that eminent jurist observes, to see "an *enlightened* permanency of policy;" but while this qualifying epithet is wanting, and errors continue to be committed on so vast a scale, their consolidation would certainly be a still greater evil, and the facility with which they are renounced must be viewed as a mitigating circumstance.*

Another evil incident to democracy is the blind eagerness of party contests, and the extreme violence at least of language with which they are waged. This indeed is abundantly conspicuous among ourselves; and Mr Buckingham, while noticing its displays in America as even ludicrous, considers them particularly so from their striking resemblance to what he had witnessed at home. Yet Mr Pinkney, after a long residence in Europe, complains of a *brutality* in the American contests which he had never there observed. Mr Jefferson, a democratic leader, after being raised to the presidency, expresses very strong feelings at what had occurred during the canvass which led to it. Dr Channing writes: "I am sorry to say it, but the truth should be spoken, that at the present moment political action in this country does little to lift any who are concerned in it. It stands in opposition to a high morality.—A great amount of time, which, if well used, would form an enlightened population, is now wasted on newspapers and conversations which inflame the passions, which unscrupulously distort the truth, which denounce moral independence as treachery to one's party, which agitate the country for

* Hall's Travels, vol. ii. p. 293-298. Story, vol. ii. p. 192.

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no higher end than a triumph over opponents; and thus multitudes are degraded into men-worshippers and men-haters—into the dupes of the ambitious and the slaves of a faction.—All classes partake of the madness, and all are debased by it.—The disease has spread every where." —"What the people require," says Dewey, "is not rash haste, boastful confidence, furious anger, and mad strife, but sobriety, calmness, and modesty." One decided superiority in British faction is, that it almost invariably respects private character, which, in transatlantic struggles, is habitually and furiously assailed. Mr Grund indeed defends this system as conducive to morality, since, whatever branch of it a man may have violated, if he ever becomes candidate for a public station, he will assuredly have the offence sounded in his ears, and proclaimed to the world. Important, however, as the object is, this is really so very rough a mode of effecting it, that it cannot command approbation.

Another of the evils of democracy consists in the treacherous adulation with which the people are addressed by demagogues who court their favour. Dr Dewey, though professing democracy, says: "I am amazed that thinking men, conversant with these questions, should address such gross flattery and monstrous absurdity to the people, saying, that they will put all these questions right by the ballot-box.—The people are not always right; they are often wrong."*

One great evil of their being nursed in such lofty conceptions of themselves is, that they feel no call to acquire that political knowledge which might enable them to judge soundly of public measures. While their best friends are deploring their deficiency in this respect, they themselves labour under no such uneasy feelings, but consider that they are already fully competent to the exercise of the highest legislative functions.

While, however, we see thus the wide action of those

* Sparks' American Biography, vol. vi. p. 15. Messages, p. 92. Channing on Labouring Classes, p. 14. Dewey in North American Review, No. xlvii. p. 477.

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evils to which democracy is liable, it must be owned that they have never risen to a height, nor assumed an aspect, threatening the subversion of society, or rendering government unfit for fulfilling its functions. The reverence for law, which the people brought out with them from Britain, has been always maintained, and the appeals to force, which form the regular course of things in the republics of Spanish origin, have been few and easily suppressed. Life, person, and property, have in the main been preserved secure. The great landed interest, though essentially democratic, has never been inclined to revolution; but, when hurried by its passions on the road thither, has suddenly receded. Much has been said of the tyranny of the majority, but, we think, with exaggeration. That party, in a free state, must always conduct the government, and hold all the political appointments. The minority are doubtless thus left in a painful situation,—excluded from all office and influence, and seeing the nation ruled under a system which they regard with the deepest antipathy. This, however, is inevitable; nor can they complain of oppression, unless their persons or property be invaded, or they be debarred from the free expression of opinion. The first can scarcely be alleged, though M. de Tocqueville refers to the occasional outbreaks of mobs, and the enormities of lynch law; but these casual bursts cannot afford grounds for such a systematic charge, and will perhaps be proved to arise chiefly from an imperfect police. Still less complaint can be made of any abridgment in the liberty of speech and writing. During the utmost height of Jackson's domination, he was assailed with a peculiar, extreme, and indeed culpable violence. The statement of M. de Tocqueville,—that the decision of the majority, when declared, overpowers all opinion opposed to it,—is contradicted by the manifest fact that there have been always two parties maintaining and proclaiming, with the utmost violence, sentiments directly opposite.

Another circumstance which we conceive to have

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probably been favourable to the working of the federal system, is the degree of power lodged in its executive head. Here, too, we feel obliged to differ from the same able writer, by whom it is considered as weak and declining. He has drawn a parallel between it and the French executive, considering the latter as beyond measure superior. We shall attempt a similar one with that of the British, and think it doubful if the American will not appear the stronger of the two. It must be premised, that the only fair comparison can be between the president and the prime minister, who is virtually chosen by the house of commons, or at least must accord with the sentiments of its majority. The energy and ability of the present King of the French may, in some degree, resist this necessity, but the monarchy, we conceive, must ultimately yield to it. The irresponsibility of the French monarch, and indeed of the English, which is mentioned as increasing his power, is the very circumstance which really transfers it to his minister. It is by no means denied, that the hereditary dignity and splendour of the monarchy is beneficial in giving steadiness to the constitution, and overawing attempts to subvert it. The comparison, however, is to be made between the real exercise of influence and prerogative, not merely formal or nominal, but as living and in actual operation,—a distinction to which, we suspect, the French author has not duly attended.

First, then, in Britain and in France the minister has no tenure of office, but must be removed whenever a representative majority decides against him; and so soon as there arise symptoms of this event approaching, all the worshippers of power look to the opposite quarter. But the American president has a fixed period of four years, during which he must remain, in defiance of the most violent opposition from both houses of congress. M. de Tocqueville, indeed, endeavours to argue, that this is merely owing to his extreme weakness, rendering it indifferent to these bodies whether he accords with them or not. We cannot believe,

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however, that they would not prefer one who did so, were it only to secure them against their bills being negatived; and the intense excitement which the election to this office always kindles throughout the Union, harmonizes very ill with the idea of its being regarded as a matter of indifference. The real bearing of the arrangement appears to us to be this, that the people of England and France have no means of influencing the formation of the executive, unless through the commons or the chambers. If, then, the minister could hold this place in defiance of these bodies, he would hold it in opposition to the people. But the American president, having derived his office direct from the nation, possesses a place equal and co-ordinate with that of congress, who cannot therefore attempt to eject him, without attacking the common source of their power. This stable position must give to the presidential office a consistency which does not belong to the constitutional ministries of Europe.

The nomination to offices, the chief source of influence in a mixed government, is held by the president, subject indeed to a negative by the senate; but this is, and indeed can be, exercised only in a few leading cases. The number is not so great as in European governments; yet in the postmaster's department, for instance, it is so vast, that Mr Story considers his influence as dangerous, forgetting seemingly that he is appointed and removable by the chief magistrate, to whom therefore the whole really belongs. A British minister has the same power of appointment and removal; but in this last respect usage has completely established, that it shall be applied only to a few of the most active political officers, while all subordinate classes are changed only in consequence of proved misconduct. But in America, Jackson established the precedent of making a complete sweep of all those employed under him, with a view to augment his political influence; and the people, having afterwards re-elected him, virtually sanctioned this proceeding.

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The British executive has an absolute negative, the American only a qualified one. But the first prerogative is purely nominal, having been dormant for above a hundred years; and he would be a bold minister indeed who should advise its revival. Nay, this seems impossible, since the placing himself thus in opposition to the commons would infer his immediate removal. But in America the prerogative is in active operation, and has been enforced against several of the most leading decisions of congress. It is not admitted, indeed, against any bill which is supported by two-thirds of both houses; but in periods of political agitation, like that recently elapsed, there are very few prominent measures which can command such majorities. We even find Jackson and Van Buren, in their opening addresses to congress, announcing that if that body pass certain bills, a veto will be inevitably attached to them.* Let us only imagine the flame which would be kindled by such an announcement in a speech from the British throne; yet in America it was, in both cases, quietly acquiesced in. Thus the president has a real and effective share in legislation, while that of the British executive is purely nominal.

The power reserved to congress of making war and concluding peace, and the limitation in regard to treaties, are important points of inferiority in the American chief magistrate. Relating, however, wholly to foreign transactions, they do not materially affect his internal authority, his means of repressing violence, and maintaining the authority of the laws. When war is declared, he has the command of all the forces, and the appointment of all naval and military officers.

There is another element which we conceive has a great influence in giving steadiness to the political machine. The best authorities clearly indicate the existence of a powerful and rising aristocracy. Here we are sorry to find ourselves again in collision with the high authority

* Messages, pp. 532, 605.

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of M. de Tocqueville, who, though admitting a difference of opinion on the subject, maintains that this principle is almost extinct, and its remains fast disappearing. Captain Hall also conceives that Canute's attempt to arrest the ocean was as rational as would be one to stem the advancing tide of democracy. The former writer, indeed, appears to hold that aristocracy can never arise in any nation unless when designedly framed at its first origin. We apprehend, on the contrary, that this element is in a continual state of formation in every society. Man, proud man, seeks ever the means of rising above his fellows; while there is a disposition among the multitude to look up to those who possess eminent external distinctions. Rome and Venice, when they were mere collections of fugitives, could contain nothing of those powerful aristocracies which afterwards arose in their bosom. We agree, however, with these writers, that the distinctions of landed and feudal dignity have been broken down, and cannot rise at least for ages. They can never exist in a country where land does not yield rent; where the great body of its proprietors hold only small portions, tilled by their own hands. These must form a respectable and conservative, but almost a pure democracy. In their room, however, has risen the monied and mercantile aristocracy. In Europe, this interest, feeling itself overshadowed by the landed and titled orders, views them with jealousy, and ranges itself usually on the popular side. The case is reversed in America, where, amid the humble mediocrity which pervades the owners of the soil, the great merchants form the only wealthy and influential class. We need only open the page of history to see the tendency of flourishing commercial states to range themselves in this form. Venice, Genoa, Carthage, and Tyre ("whose merchants were princes, and her traffickers the honourable ones of the earth") afford striking examples; while in all the German free cities the patrician order was powerful and influential.

Miss Martineau and Mr Buckingham have distinctly

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traced the existence of this political interest, with the sources of its influence; and Mr Grund has edited the work of a German nobleman expressly devoted to the subject. It is confirmed by the indignant denunciations of the democratic presidents Jackson and Van Buren, who yet, after a supposed triumph, were obliged to give way before it. Through the necessary mediocrity of fortune among the landed proprietors, the great merchants nearly monopolize that lustre which is derived from the possession and display of wealth, to which, amid theoretical professions of equality, the Americans are at least as sensible as any other nation. We find, indeed, the doctrine held forth by such able writers as Dr Channing and Miss Sedgwick, that wealth ought to confer no distinction, and that the poorest citizen, if intelligent and well conducted, ought to visit and associate with the richest on a footing of perfect equality. We do not mean to doubt that in the progress of social culture personal qualities will rise in value as compared to external; and, in some of the most highly refined European circles, this does take place in a certain degree. But ages we imagine must elapse before it can be realized to the extent here advocated. It seems particularly chimerical to expect the first place to be America, where a numerous class, on external grounds, are visited with a proscription only second to that of the Hindoo pariah. It is admitted that in no country on earth is wealth so eagerly pursued; and can it be supposed that no value will be set upon it when acquired? Indeed these writers, while urging their theory, allow that it is in no degree realized, and that the tide is even running in a contrary direction. "What an insult to humanity," says Dr Channing, "is the *present* deference to dress and upholstery, as if silkworms and looms, and scissors and needles, could produce something nobler than man!" He endeavours to persuade the labouring class to commence among themselves such a reform, *since it is so desperate* among the more opulent; yet he elsewhere complains that the labourer, if suc-

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cessful, is anxious to ape the rich man. He laments the disposition to regard what is called the upper class with envy and admiration, and that, "when one of their number prospers, he is apt to forget his old acquaintance, and to work his way if possible into a more fashionable caste."

Apart from the influence derived from actual wealth, the mere circumstance of success in business, and the ability which it is supposed to imply, carry great weight in an industrial community. Besides those who have made fortunes in trade, the more numerous class who aspire to that advantage naturally imbibe the same spirit. This career being viewed as the most brilliant, the rural youth, who can obtain enough either of money or credit, hastens to town, and eagerly enters upon mercantile pursuits. To this class are aggregated others, which in Europe are at least divided. There the lawyers, from their acquirements and popular qualities, have taken a great lead in recent revolutionary movements; and a large proportion embrace the popular side. But in America, even M. de Tocqueville admits that the whole of this interest is conservative, and forms a powerful check on the movement; and Miss Martineau makes a similar report as to the clergy. In Britain, the numerous dissenting bodies, supported by their congregations, view with jealousy the establishment from which they are excluded; but where all are on an equal footing, the ministers look to their opulent hearers as those from whom they derive their support, who bestow religious and other charities, whose society is the most agreeable, perhaps their conduct the most regular. Mr Buckingham considers professional men generally as attached to this interest. They derive from it most of their emolument, and they see within it that refinement and gentility at which they usually aim. From these causes, while in England a large proportion of the opulent classes espouse the popular side, in America they are almost wholly aristocratic; and though constituting a small minority as to the exercise of the suffrage, they yet possess powerful means of

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acting upon the body of the electors. The banking interest, which is pre-eminently aristocratic, must, where business is carried on so widely upon credit, possess a commanding influence. This class have also extensive means of swaying public opinion; and the great landed democracy, being well intentioned, though not very enlightened, are open to persuasion. The newspaper press, being dependent for profit mostly upon advertisements, is much under the direction of the mercantile interest. Mr Grund's authority asserts, that even the editors, who begin as democratic, come gradually round to the more profitable side. The aristocratic leaders are likely to be more steady and intelligent persons; it is indeed on all hands admitted that they are so, and that under the late democratic sway the most able statesmen were excluded from the administration. They occupy a central position in the great cities, and can unite more effectively into those associations which powerfully influence the American mind. The people, shrewd and well meaning, cannot but soon perceive the inferior manner in which their affairs are transacted; and the enormous errors into which their favourite leaders fall, though at first probably accordant with their feelings and prejudices, are soon so severely felt as to cause a revulsion of sentiment. Lastly, in answer to those who have insisted that this party is laid in the dust, we would adduce the simple fact, that it was very recently triumphant in the supreme government, and has been shaken only by the accidental death of General Harrison.

As to the question of its influence upon the welfare of America, we would admit that an aristocratic body, when pure and unchecked, is liable to become oppressive. But the case is different, when they exist only as an element, in combination with the vast mass of the people. They have no prospect of effecting any change in the franchise, so as to deprive the latter of the direct power. They can rule them only by opinion; and must "by submitting, sway." They deny even their

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own existence and influence; paying homage to the people as their masters, and representing them as the sole depositaries of power. This language, we imagine, has partly misled Tocqueville, Hall, and others, who communicated chiefly with this class. They have even renounced the term federal, and all those assumed by the original aristocracy, and, taking advantage of the domineering spirit displayed by Jackson, assumed the popular name of Whig, branding their adversaries as Tories. They seek to satisfy the people that they will administer their affairs better than their own flatterers and favourites. The only point, in fact, where they have a supposed interest opposite to that of the public, is commercial monopoly, to which they still continue strongly attached. Yet, seeing that by formerly carrying this line of policy to an extreme, they violently convulsed the country, and threw themselves out of power, it seems probable that they will proceed with caution in such a course.

A third class, which has now arrived at some considerable importance, is that of the labouring population in the great cities. These obtain for their toil a much more liberal remuneration than the same body in Europe; they are boasted of as a superior order, and nowhere deserving the name of populace. They want, however, the conservative influence of property, and may feel its absence the more severely in a country where its possession is so widely diffused. Mr Hamilton assures us that there are associations under the title of *workies*, who contemplate the most daring revolutionary schemes, —division of property, an agrarian law, and universal equality. Dr Channing admits that not a few cherish this belief and dread. He repels the charge, indeed, but chiefly from the want of any legitimate motive for such designs; and as he is addressing the accused class, he may be supposed anxious to banish such ideas from their minds. This body, too, will doubtless be reinforced by a certain number of the higher classes, whom desperate fortune or reckless habits inspire with hopes from a

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subversion of the existing order. Men of genius also, who ill brook any superiority that is not personal, are observed most commonly attaching themselves to extreme democratic opinions. There is thus aggregated a considerable and influential body, whose views tend to a violent and dangerous direction; yet, checked as it now is by the mercantile aristocracy on one side, and by the vast mass of the landed democracy on the other, it does not appear likely to gain any alarming ascendency in the councils of the Union.

Having thus surveyed the actual state of this remarkable constitution, the interesting question arises, What is likely to be its duration? The few observations now to be made are given with extreme diffidence, because, however cheap and common political prediction is found, nothing we believe is more difficult and precarious. In free and popular governments especially, the tides of public feeling are so various that the wisest can scarcely foresee their future direction. The usual and ready conclusion is, that whatever principle at any time seems predominant and advancing, will continue to make progress till it becomes completely supreme. Yet we believe the opposite judgment would be safer—that, after a certain interval, this movement will ebb, and the tide begin to run towards the very opposite quarter. A party long in possession of power usually commit errors, become careless or arbitrary; the public tire of them, and look with hope and interest to new rulers. Who, at the time of the British Reform Bill, could have imagined that in nine years the party opposed to it would again be placed at the helm of affairs? Tocqueville, Hall, and Hamilton visited America when the democratic party under Jackson was in the height of advancing power and influence; hence they inferred that this tendency would go on till it had swept away every other. These writers little foresaw that in a few years the scene would be reversed, and the aristocratic party appear in the ascendant.

M. de Tocqueville has treated at length and with great ability the question as to the probable duration of the

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American Union; and without pronouncing very decidedly, he evidently leans to the opinion that this vast and complex mass must erelong part into fragments. We shall state briefly the grounds on which we have been led to a more favourable anticipation. It is on the general tone and feeling prevailing among the people that the question must mainly depend. That writer asserts: "The Union is a vast body which presents no definite object to patriotic feeling.—Patriotism is still directed to the state, and is not excited by the Union." Now it appears to us, both from conversations and popular writings, that the feelings of patriotism and national pride, which are felt in a somewhat inordinate degree, are called forth much more by connexion with the Union than with any particular state. The people delight to view themselves much less as New Englanders, as Virginians, as Carolinians, than as citizens of the United States, or, as they prefer to call themselves, Americans. It is to this name, according to Mrs Willard, that all their feelings of patriotism are attached. Let us consider how deeply in comparison the literature of Scotland has been imbued with local feelings, yet still without any desire or impulse in the people of that country to separate from the empire. We may add, that the patriotic sentiment is greatly nourished by the extent of country embraced by the Union, and the vast scale of its progress; considerations which would lose all weight, were it split into fragments. These sentiments are testified and expressed with peculiar force by Mr Webster, a high authority. "Do we not," says he, "find ourselves on an eminence! Do we not challenge the respect of the whole world! What has placed us thus high! What has given us this great pride! What is it but the unrestrained operation of that same federal constitution which it has been proposed now to hamper, and manacle, and nullify! Who is there that, if he should find himself on any spot of the earth where human beings exist, and where the existence of other nations is known, would not be proud to say, "I am an American. I am a countryman of Washington.

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I am a citizen of that republic, which, though it has suddenly sprung up, yet there are none on the globe who have ears to hear and have not heard of it, who know any thing and yet do not know of its existence and glory. And, gentlemen, let me now reverse the picture; let me ask who is there among us that if he were to be found to-morrow in one of the civilized countries of Europe, and were there to learn that this goodly form of government had been overthrown, that the United States were no longer united, that a death-blow had been struck upon the bond of union, that they themselves had destroyed their chief good and their chief honour,—who is there whose heart would not sink within him! Who is there who would not cover his face for very shame!"

To these motives of feeling may be added the strong interests by which the members of the Union are bound together, and the obvious evils ensuing from separation. Those great lines of communication which pervade the territory, and form one main source of its prosperity, would be broken into parts, their utility, in a great measure, destroyed, and the freedom of internal trade at least be very much impaired. Amid the pugnacious spirit which still reigns, wars would doubtless arise, to be waged with that peculiar bitterness which distinguishes civil contests. These perils are most powerfully set forth by Jackson, whose authority stands the higher, as he had espoused with a zeal beyond any of his predecessors the party favourable to state interests. Yet we find him saying:—"We have hitherto relied on it (the federal constitution) as the perpetual bond of our union. We have received it as the work of the assembled wisdom of the nation. We have trusted to it as the sheet-anchor of our safety in the stormy times of conflict with a foreign or domestic foe. We have looked to it with sacred awe, as the palladium of our liberties, and with all the solemnities of religion have pledged to each other our lives and fortunes here, and our hopes of happiness hereafter, in its defence and support." Elsewhere he declares,—

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"Compared to disunion, all other evils are light, because that brings with it an accumulation of all;" and, again, he predicts,—"The first line of separation would not last for a single generation; new fragments would be torn off; new leaders would spring up; and this great and glorious republic would soon be broken into a multitude of petty states, without commerce, without credit,—jealous of one another,—armed for mutual aggressions,—loaded with taxes to pay armies and leaders,—seeking aid against each other from foreign powers,—insulted and trampled upon by the nations of Europe,—until, harassed with conflicts, and humbled and debased in spirit, they would be ready to submit to the absolute dominion of any military adventurer, and surrender their liberty for the sake of repose."*

We must, moreover, declare ourselves unable to discover any symptoms of diminished weight and importance in the central government. The late presidential nominations, for example, have called forth an excitement and interest more than usually intense; much greater than any belonging to the states. The same, in a somewhat inferior degree, is the case with the elections to congress. We had formerly occasion to observe, that, in the decline of the first confederation, all statesmen of the highest rank sought preferably a seat in the local legislatures. But the case has been entirely reversed, it being now their primary object to attain one in the central assemblies, where they find a higher and wider sphere of activity, which they will naturally desire to perpetuate and strengthen. De Tocqueville, indeed, observes, that the secondary class of statesmen are more numerous, and may have opposite views; yet we do not imagine that they are equally influential; besides, they have a sphere of their own in the state-governments, into which if they were to attract again the superior class, they themselves would

* Webster's Speeches, vol. ii. p. 270. Presidents' Messages, pp. 448, 457, 590.

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be thrust down to a lower place. There can, at all events, be no doubt as to the present fact, that congress is looked up to as the highest and most desirable station. The supreme judiciary, also, has been already observed, on Kent's authority, to possesses a continually increasing weight and importance.

M. de Tocqueville, however, conceives that nothing hitherto observed can afford any guarantee of the future in a community so rapidly growing and changing; one which, in a century, will comprise forty nations and a hundred millions of people. This certainly is a grave consideration; yet, we may remark, that this government has been found applicable to a much larger extent of territory and number of people than was ever previously supposed possible. One government in China keeps together a much greater population, and in Russia rules a much more extensive region. Our own sovereign holds sway over the remotest extremities of the globe. The influence of distance is now much obviated by the augmented facilities of communication. The process of expansion has already taken place to a great extent, the states having increased from thirteen to twenty-six, and the people from three to seventeen millions, without producing, in any degree, the dreaded result. "Respect for its authority," says Van Buren, "was not more remarkable in its ancient than in its present limits." Monroe, not seemingly without reason, considers the multiplication of the states as tending to strengthen the tie which holds them together, conceiving that the confidence of the local governments in their own security is thus increased, and their jealousy of the national one proportionately diminished, while each administration acquires a greater force and freedom of action within its proper sphere.* It must also be borne in mind that the Americans are a homogeneous race, having a common origin, and speaking a common language, and that in the case of any attempts

* Messages, pp. 267, 604.

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at disunion by particular states, there is likely to be a stronger majority against them.

It is not, however, to be doubted, that occasional impulses will arise, as hitherto in particular states, to repel the mandates of the general government. The latter is then placed in a very difficult situation, the employment of force being at once odious and by no means easy. We cannot, however, agree in thinking success impossible or even unlikely. The central power would have a strong party within the state; it could command the most experienced officers, and all that there was of a regular army, who would be opposed by mere raw militia. The only operation of the kind, that in Pennsylvania, was crowned with easy and speedy success. It is probable, indeed, that a long trial will usually be given to milder measures; and that, while circumstances and public feeling continue the same, the mere exclusion from the benefits of the Union, and the odium incurred, will in no long time induce a refractory state to yield. There are only two instances of very formidable resistance, those of Massachusetts and Connecticut against the British war, and of South Carolina against the tariff. In both, the provocation had been very heavy, and in neither was any purpose of separation announced; the course was defended by constitutional glosses, however erroneous. Upon the whole, then, without attempting to carry prediction into a remote futurity, we can see no ground for doubting that the Union may have still a very lengthened duration.

The next question, one also of high importance, is, whether the united government can continue to consist of the same political elements; whether the democratic form can be maintained without anarchy, order and law without an approach to monarchy. On this point, foreign observers entertain a great variety of opinions, but founded generally on superficial symptoms, and accordant with their own peculiar views. Generally, as already observed, they have leant to the

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opinion, that democracy would continue to advance till it terminated in anarchy. We have already endeavoured to analyze the social and proprietary elements upon which the working of this constitution depends; and the only solid ground of prediction must, in our apprehension, rest in the modifications which these are likely to undergo amid the present rapid progress of the states in numbers and wealth.

The first and most copious element was observed to be the body of small landowners, tilling the soil with their own hands, and forming a pure but sober and reflective democracy, imbued with conservative proprietary feelings. Mr Everett considers them the basis of the American constitution; and Mr Jefferson admits that his extreme popular views would have been out of the question had they resembled a European populace. Now, the immense and almost inexhaustible extent of unoccupied land will assuredly cause this class to increase, at least in proportion to the others. The sons or connexions of the farmers in the old states thus escape sinking into labourers, and spread themselves as small proprietors over the western territory; so that the landed proprietary is not only expanded, but retains its present free and equal character. The continually enlarging breadth of this great conservative base will go very far to prevent any serious political revolution.

The next element is the mercantile body, composing, as already observed, an aristocracy, but moderate and popular, owning the democratic supremacy. The same causes which make America still agricultural, must cause her also to continue commercial; since, in such a state, there must be an extensive interchange of the raw produce of land and foreign manufactures and luxuries. The very trade of this kind between the old and the new states must be of vast magnitude, and so distant as would elsewhere be considered a foreign traffic. The causes which render the cultivators still humble and equal will make this class continue to centre in itself that wealth and splendour which dazzle the eyes of mankind.

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Occupying central positions, and being supported by the legal and professional bodies, it must still command powerful means of influence.

The third element consists of the labouring class in cities, combined with other talented but reckless individuals who may seek to inspire them with daring and anarchical views. With the growth of commerce and cities, not only must their numbers increase, but their remuneration diminish, rendering their position more restless and uneasy. Mr Hamilton is hence led to predict, that they will become always more formidable, till they carry all before them. That ingenious writer does not consider the manner in which they are checked by the simultaneous and at least equal growth of the securer elements. They may, within their proper sphere, raise local commotions, set afloat bold anarchical dogmas, and give to public proceedings a more turbulent aspect; but they will scarcely, we imagine, have power to shake from its solid base the fabric of the Union.

It is somewhat more difficult to estimate the future destinies of the executive branch. M. de Tocqueville, while admitting that Jackson carried its authority to a greater height than any of his predecessors, asserts, without fully explaining why, that it was really declining, and would descend weakened into the hands of his successor. This prediction has not been fulfilled; its highest functions have continued to be exercised, and the overwhelming interest excited by the election proves that each party considers it the main hinge on which its triumph is to turn. An absolute ruler forms, in fact, the ordinary termination of a pure democracy. The people select a favourite leader, place in him undivided confidence, support him in almost every measure, and thus often enable him to fix his chain upon themselves. This tendency had gone to a considerable extent with Jackson; but the sober American democracy shrunk at length from his domineering measures, and the opposite party denouncing them, and assuming the name of Whig, regained the ascendency. They have since

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advanced propositions for reducing certain prerogatives of the president. An aristocratic body, indeed, in the height of its power, is by no means very friendly to a supreme executive: in the feudal times, they rendered it merely nominal. But when beat against by the waves of democracy, they cling to it for protection: hence, during the last three centuries, the crown in Europe has been always supported by the nobility. The American aristocracy, somewhat similarly situated, will not probably be inclined materially to reduce the power of this branch, which, being thus promoted by one party, and not much damaged by the other, promises, on the whole, rather to advance than retrograde.

These views seem to warrant the conclusion that, though all the elements of the political system of America are in rapid progress, the movement of each is so equable and contemporaneous, that the balance between them may probably be preserved for several ages. We venture not to predict the result, when the supply of new land is exhausted, when the population is more closely pressed together, and property is accumulated in larger masses. Agitations and changes will then most probably ensue. Yet the hope may be reasonably cherished, that a system, which will then have become so vast, so complex, and in which all the elements of improvement must have made so great an advance, will contain within itself a conservative power, and become adjusted to new circumstances, without the danger of relapsing into anarchy or barbarism.

The political picture of the United States would not be complete without a view of its state-governments. The limits of their jurisdiction were fixed in the constitutional deed, by stating the powers proper to the central authority, and then declaring all others reserved to them. These comprehend the whole body of local and municipal laws, the administration of justice, the punishment of crime. Questions relating to private property and rights are mostly decided by the common law derived from England, and in force prior to the re-

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volution; but the assemblies have the power to make alterations. They can grant chartered privileges to commercial bodies, banks, and literary institutions. They can undertake public improvements, as canals and railroads, which do not interfere with those conducted by the general government; indeed, this department, since Jackson's accession, has been left entirely in their hands. They can also make such provisions as they deem expedient for public instruction. The organizing, disciplining, and officering the militia devolve almost entirely upon them. It has indeed been decided, that the president may call out any number of that body, holding then the entire command, with the appointment of the officers; but this is a prerogative exercised only on very special emergencies. They contribute to the formation of the general government, by sending each two deputies, who compose the senate, and by making arrangements for the election of the president. Amendments on the constitution may be made by the concurrence of three-fourths of their number.

The state-constitutions rest on nearly the same bases as the central one; yet they were framed by less able hands, and with much slighter deliberation. In the end of 1775, congress recommended that each state should establish a provisional one, to remain in force during the continuance of the contest with Great Britain. In the course of 1776, this was generally complied with; and the hasty and temporary arrangements then made have in most instances remained unaltered. Accordingly, the system is generally ruder, and more purely democratic, than that of the general government: the governor and deputies are elected for shorter periods, and those to both houses by the same constituents; while the independence of the judiciary is not so complete. The consequence is, according to De Tocqueville, "that the business of the Union is incomparably better conducted than that of any individual state. The conduct of the federal government is more fair and temperate than that of the states; its designs are more fraught with wisdom, its projects

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more durable and skilfully contrived, its measures executed with more vigour and consisteney." It is indeed remarkable, that the constitutions of the New England states are the most imperfect of any; the duration of all the powers there being only for a single year; while the newer and ruder ones have adopted a more judicious course. The following is a general synopsis of the arrangements in this particular :—

	Governor.	Senators.		Representatives.	
	Period.	Number.	Period.	Number.	Period.
Maine	1 year.	31	1 year.	200	1 year.
New Hampshire	1 ...	12	1 ...	250	1 ...
Vermont	1 ...	30	1 ...	233	1 ...
Massachusetts	1 ...	40	1 ...	356	1 ...
Rhode Island	1 ...	10	1 ...	72	½ ...
Connecticut	1 ...	21	1 ...	208	1 ...
New York	2 ...	32	4 ...	128	1 ...
New Jersey	1 ...	14	1 ...	50	1 ...
Pennsylvania	3 ...	33	3 ...	100	1 ...
Delaware	3 ...	9	4 ...	21	2 ...
Maryland	3 ...	21	5 ...	79	1 ...
Virginia	3 ...	32	4 ...	134	1 ...
North Carolina	2 ...	50	2 ...	120	2 ...
South Carolina	2 ...	45	4 ...	124	2 ...
Georgia	2 ...	93	1 ...	207	1 ...
Alabama	2 ...	33	3 ...	100	1 ...
Mississippi	2 ...	30	4 ...	91	2 ...
Louisiana	4 ...	17	4 ...	50	2 ...
Arkansas	4 ...	17	4 ...	54	2 ...
Tennessee	2 ...	25	2 ...	75	2 ...
Kentucky	4 ...	38	4 ...	100	1 ...
Ohio	2 ...	36	2 ...	72	1 ...
Michigan	2 ...	17	2 ...	52	1 ...
Indiana	3 ...	30	3 ...	62	1 ...
Illinois	4 ...	40	4 ...	91	2 ...
Missouri	4 ...	18	4 ...	49	2 ...
Florida Territory	3 ...	none		29	1 ...
Wisconsin do	3 ...	...		26	2 ...
Iowa do	3 ...	...		26	1 ...

Beneath these state administrations, certain local and municipal jurisdictions hold an important place, and have been illustrated in an interesting manner by M. de Tocqueville. The leading one is the township, diffused

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over the whole continent, but particularly deep seated in New England. It appears, indeed, not to have been derived from special grant, but to have sprung up naturally at the origin of colonial society. Perhaps it was at first general over the world, since we find it thoroughly rooted even under the despotic rule of India. It consists of a city, town, or in the country of a district with a varying population, amounting on an average to two thousand. An annual meeting is held, when a number of select men, from three to nine, according to the size of the township, are elected, and have the general sway of municipal affairs. At the same time, certain special officers are chosen,—assessors to fix the rates, collectors to receive them; a constable, a town-clerk, overseer of the poor, committee for schools, road-surveyors, and other functionaries, amounting in all to nineteen. Some are paid according to the labour done; but many act gratuitously.* The town-officers are the instruments by which the orders of the state are usually executed. They collect the taxes, make up the lists of voters, and enforce the laws. They do not form always the most efficient instruments; but the advantage of the system is justly described to consist in maintaining a salutary activity, infusing public spirit, and enabling the citizen to gratify a moderate ambition, without quitting his domestic hearth and his family circle. Mr Everett asserts, that no instance has ever occurred of tumult arising in a township meeting.

A county consists of a number of townships, varying widely, according to the size of the latter; in some instances comprising only two, in others forty or fifty. In some states, as in New York, the county has a representative assembly, with even some power of imposing taxes. But in New England its only officers are a sheriff and justices of the peace, charged with the maintenance of law and police. The latter are appointed by the governor, and

* According to M. de Tocqueville they are almost all paid; but a writer in the American Review for 1835, p. 198, asserts the contrary.

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hold their places for seven years. Three of them, specially appointed, constitute the court of sessions, which meets twice a-year in the county town. Besides pronouncing judgment on offences, it directs the formation and repair of roads, apportions the taxes, and the misdemeanours of township officers are liable to be brought under its cognizance.

It must be owned that the administrative functions exercised by the township officers place the state government in the same inefficient position as the first congress were in their dealings with the state legislatures. It wields no force of its own; it can neither appoint nor remove any functionary, however ill he may perform his duty. The only check on his misconduct is the being arraigned before the court of sessions, which, though it cannot discharge, may impose a heavy fine; and the township, if exposed to blame, incurs a similar penalty. Yet a duty may be executed very imperfectly, without giving ground to establish the failure before a legal tribunal. There is even no regular arrangement, unless in some special instances, for bringing the case before the court; and it becomes necessary to encourage prosecutors, by granting them a share of the fine which forms the usual punishment. The process, however, is on the whole so inefficient, that M. de Tocqueville does not conceive that a large amount of taxation could be thus levied with any facility. It is a still more serious defect, that the state, having no administrative functionaries of its own, rarely attempts to issue regulations of police, which, in fact, do not generally exist, nor have the authorities any adequate means of discovering crimes and arresting criminals. This devolves almost entirely on the spontaneous exertion of individuals. According to Chevalier, the sheriff calls upon passengers to aid him in exercising his authority; and if a disturbance arises in an inn, the landlord has no resource but to require the company present to combine in suppressing it. Hence M. de Tocqueville admits, that "lesser details of police, which render life easy and comfortable, are ne-

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glected," and that "disgraceful blemishes are seen, in complete contrast with the surrounding civilisation." He asserts, however, that through spontaneous exertions for the common weal, all the essential guarantees of society are as strong as elsewhere; that committees are even formed for the pursuit and detection of criminals; and objects thus effected to which the most energetic central authority would have been inadequate. It may however be remarked, that the security thus afforded exists only where public opinion is hostile to the offender. Any individual or body who, from reasons good or bad, has become obnoxious to the multitude, is from that moment left without any guarantee either of person or property. We need only instance the anti-slavery advocates, and, at Baltimore and Boston, the professors of religious or political opinions odious to the multitude. Mr Buckingham places against these certain similar outrages in Britain, as at Bristol and Nottingham. These, however, were committed by surprise, in the absence and neglect of the proper authorities, and lasted only for a few hours; while the perpetrators, on being discovered, were brought to trial and punished. But in America, cities or districts remain for days in the power of a mob, without an attempt to suppress the proceedings or punish the ringleaders. The system, too, of inviting and sanctioning the co-operation of private citizens, is carried out into the full extent of lynch-law, where they not only discover the criminal, but try and execute him; guided of course rather by passion and feeling, than by reason or statute. Punishment, even when merited, is carried beyond all due bounds, as in the execution, at New Orleans, of the Mississippi gamblers, and other similar proceedings in the west. Local and voluntary jurisdiction may produce energy and patriotism; and with that view, certain objects may, even at the risk of some inconvenience, be placed within its range; but it seems going much too far, when personal safety, the most fundamental object of government, is left dependent on this precarious agency. Indeed, we incline to think this

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the most alarming feature in the American system ; for though, amid its rapid advance, the general balance of its powers may be preserved, the tendency to local disturbance must increase. The prejudice of the people against a force employed by government to execute the laws, appears, from the example of Britain and other countries, to be quite chimerical. There seems much more reason to apprehend, that a series of such disorders, caused by its absence, may shake the national attachment to liberty.

The finances of a nation form an important branch of its political arrangements. The idea prevails in Europe, that a democracy, and the American one in particular, is the most economical of governments. De Tocqueville, on the contrary, maintains, that it is one of the most expensive. There, he observes, the persons imposing the taxes, being different from those who pay them, have no motive to check any expenditure, whence they can hope for advantage. This, in some of the Grecian city-democracies, was carried to such an extent as to amount almost to a spoliation of the opulent classes. In America, where property is so generally distributed, and the legislators are composed chiefly of representatives from the rural districts, there seems little ground for such a complaint. The most popular governments there have been always the most frugal. They are liable, however, to be moved by strong passions and hasty impulses, during the sway of which expense is incurred with little consideration. The frequent changes of plan, too, in which they indulge, are necessarily attended with cost ; and many undertakings are abandoned before they are brought to any profitable bearing.

Nothing gives this impression of economy so strongly as the extreme moderation of the salaries of the higher functionaries. The president receives not quite £6000 ; each of the principal officers of state about £1300 ; the chief justice of the supreme court, £1100 ; the governor of New York, £900 : that of Ohio, a state containing a million and a half of people, about £330. These rates

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have never been augmented since their first appointment, notwithstanding the increased expense of living; and a proposal of that nature would, we imagine, be very unpopular. The policy of the system may be doubted. Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Pinkney, and other eminent statesmen, had reason to complain that their official employments were attended with great detriment to their private fortune; and several retired from the public service chiefly from this cause. This class is frequently drawn from the law, a lucrative profession; or they possess a considerable landed property, which, in America, is of little value without the personal superintendence of the owner. On the other hand, the pay of all the subordinate officers, also of the common soldiers and sailors, is more liberal than in Britain. This arises from the high rate of wages, and also from an equitable public feeling; for there is no doubt that the remuneration of these classes, both in Britain and France, is generally too low. Many services, also, as those of the members of legislature, with us performed gratuitously, are somewhat liberally paid.

The following exhibits the expenditure of the United States government during each successive four years since 1792, in dollars:—

1. 1793 to 1796	$12,083,205	7. 1817 to 1820	$58,698,058
2. 1797 to 1800	21,338,351	8. 1821 to 1824	45,665,422
3. 1801 to 1804	17,174,433	9. 1825 to 1828	49,313,197
4. 1805 to 1808	23,927,246	10. 1829 to 1832	56,249,878
5. 1809 to 1812	36,147,858	11. 1833 to 1836	87,130,428
6. 1813 to 1816	108,537,107	12. 1837 to 1840	112,188,691*

In the second period, a great rise may be observed, produced under President Adams, through the apprehension and partial commencement of a French war, and consequent increase of the naval and military establishments. In the third period, Jefferson, having come into power, introduced a rigid economy, reducing these establishments to the very lowest possible point. In

* American Almanac, 1841, p. 128.

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the fourth period, the disputes with Britain caused him somewhat to retrace his steps, and prepare for a possible contest ; while the same cause operated with increasing force during the fifth. The sixth included the interval of war, and consequently much exceeds any of the others. In the following periods the expenditure is considerably reduced, yet not to the preceding level, because, through the events of that contest, the impression was produced that the military and naval force had been brought lower than was consistent with true policy. In the last term, a large rise is again observable, occasioned chiefly by the treaties and arrangements for the removal of the Indian tribes, and the serious war thence arising with the Seminoles.

The outlay during the year 1840 amounted to 22,489,349 dollars, of which 2,326,809 was for the Florida war and the Indian department, leaving 20,162,540, which may be considered as permanent. The most recent yearly expenditure which we can give in detail is that of 1836. The amount then was,—for congress, 843,880 dollars; pensioners, 455,454 ; civil and diplomatic, 2,798,990; clerks, &c. 82,320 ; navy, 4,575,412 ; its improvement, 500,000 ; army, 3,510,485 ; fortifications, 860,000 ; the militia, 200,000 ; harbours, 551,384 ; Cumberland road, 600,000 ; pensions to revolutionary officers and others, 1,460,000; annuities to Indians, 523,282 ; their civilisation, 10,000 ; library of congress, 1000. Besides these regular expenses, there were others deemed extraordinary: for the army, &c. 2,147,645 ; navy, 1,700,000 ; removal of Indians, 1,350,000 ; Indian wars, 5,020,000 ; Indian treaties, 6,381,454.

The burden of debt, which presses with such severity on the European states, has been but lightly felt in America, the government having applied itself to the task of liquidation with a prudence and steadiness which might serve as a model to the rulers of older countries. The revolutionary contest left a load of 75,000,000 dollars, an amount very great, compared with the limited resources of the nation. It remained undiminished till 1806 ; but

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between that time and 1812 was gradually lowered to 45,200,000. The war raised it in 1816 to 127,334,000; but from that time it was steadily and progressively reduced, till in 1835 it was entirely paid off. There arose in this and the following year the singular phenomenon of a surplus, of which the government knew not how to dispose. To lock it in its coffers would be withdrawing capital from circulation; to deposit it in the banks might give an injurious impulse to speculation. It was therefore determined to distribute it among the states, in proportion to the number of electoral votes in each. Accordingly, on the 1st January 1837, the sum of 37,468,000 dollars was thus apportioned, reserving 5,000,000 in the treasury. This step, however, was found to have been too hasty. The disastrous commercial crisis which immediately followed; the consequent diminution of the customs; the stoppage of the banks in which the public money was deposited; the continued outlay attending the Indian war and removal, converted this state of unexampled prosperity into one of severe pressure. In 1840, while the expenses amounted to 22,489,000 dollars, the ordinary receipts were only 17,197,000; a deficiency which with great difficulty was met by the issue of treasury notes, and by contracting loans to the amount, in 1842, of about seven millions of dollars.*

The revenue of the general government has been derived almost exclusively from customs, and from the sales of public lands. Congress, indeed, holds by the constitution an unlimited power of internal and direct taxation, and has repeatedly exercised it; but being very odious to the people, and viewed also with great jealousy by the states, such branches have been successively relinquished. We have observed that, in the first arrangement of the financial system, Hamilton introduced them to a considerable extent, and, notwithstanding a

* American Almanac, 1836, p. 112; 1837, pp. 138, 139; 1838, p. 133; 1842, pp. 92, 93; 1843, pp. 133, 134.

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somewhat serious insurrection, they were maintained. In 1802, however, under Jefferson, the whole were abolished; but again resorted to under the pressure of the British war. In 1816, upwards of five millions of internal and four of direct taxes were levied; but, in 1818, nearly all were taken off. Even the produce of public lands was claimed by the states in which they were situated; and though this was not allowed, a general feeling prevailed that this branch ought to be employed in canals, roads, and similar improvements. When, therefore, Jackson applied his presidential veto to these undertakings being carried on by the general government, the states, on whom the function was thus entirely devolved, seemed to acquire a fair claim that the funds for that purpose should be placed in their hands. It was accordingly so arranged, by an act passed in August 1841, but under the pressure of financial difficulties has not yet been carried into execution.*

Besides this general expenditure, each state has a budget of its own, required to provide for its officers, legislature, courts, and other internal objects. The amount is levied in various modes, according to circumstances or inclination. In the purely agricultural states, it is usual to impose a small per centage on property; but where commerce has made much progress, recourse is had to taxes on banks and auctions, and to licenses. The states have not, however, shown equal discretion in avoiding or clearing off debt. They recklessly plunged into it to an amount, in September 1842, of 198,818,000 dollars, about £44,734,000 sterling, of which 135 millions had been contracted in the course of the five previous years. It is true, the greater part had been incurred in laudable objects,—railroads, canals, and other improvements,—which, as observed, had been left wholly in their hands; and the example of New York seemed to give almost boundless encouragement to this species of enterprise. It has been pursued, however, to a ruinous extent,

* Pitkin, Statistics, pp. 340, 341.

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regarding rather the remote capabilities of the territories than their actual resources. In such cases, the tolls were wholly inadequate to pay the interest of the outlay, and many undertakings were necessarily abandoned before being brought into a productive state. They have suffered severely also from the fraud and bankruptcy which have of late prevailed so universally in monetary operations. Hence one of the states(Mississippi) has openly repudiated at least a large amount of its debts, and a great number have ceased to pay either principal or interest, including Pennsylvania and Maryland, with most of those in the west, excepting Ohio, Kentucky, and Alabama. The following exhibits, in dollars, the revenue, expenditure, and debts of each state at the close of the year 1840 :—

	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Debt.
Maine	$52,178	$318,172	$1,678,367
New Hampshire	50,000	50,000	none.
Vermont	90,724	90,000	none.
Massachusetts	396,000	445,745	5,149,137
Rhode Island	69,207	37,707	none.
Connecticut	80,000	80,000	none.
New York	451,790	918,725	20,165,254
New Jersey	80,379	78,604	83,283
Pennsylvania	702,719	687,447	34,723,261
Delaware	25,000	25,000	none.
Maryland	255,678	259,468	15,109,026
Virginia	665,057	580,437	6,857,161
North Carolina	83,757	107,155	none.
South Carolina	299,390	307,520	3,764,734
Georgia	85,000	186,795	500,000
Alabama	263,570	100,000	10,859,556
Mississippi	161,161	215,904	12,400,000
Louisiana	530,000	688,991	20,585,000
Tennessee	132,415	134,496	1,789,166
Kentucky	262,716	256,866	4,665,000
Ohio	231,415	222,407	14,809,476
Indiana	136,748	127,527	13,667,433
Illinois	170,942	186,000	13,465,682
Missouri	60,000	60,000	2,929,557
Michigan	14,000	141,485	6,011,000
Arkansas	58,507	51,991	3,755,362
Florida Territory	.....	.....	3,900,000
Columbia ditto	.....	.....	1,500,000
	$5,408,353	$6,358,442	$198,367,455

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There is, besides, due by the states, for surplus of the general revenue deposited with them,	$28,101,644
Debts due by cities,	22,372,441
Debts as above,	198,367,455
	$248,841,540

The following are some of the chief aggregate heads of state expenditure :—

State officers,	$303,922
Judiciary,	695,765
Legislature,	1,253,868
State prisons,	265,555
Insane, &c.	307,093
Militia,	159,615
State printing,	191,427*

Besides the general and the state budgets there is one for each county, which is not officially published; and M. de Tocqueville found great difficulty in forming any estimate of its amount. He procured it, however, for thirteen counties of Pennsylvania, containing 495,000 inhabitants, and which he conceived to furnish a fair average, at least for that state. The whole was about 3s. a-head. Suppose the same rate to obtain among the seventeen millions who compose the Union, the total will be £2,550,000. There remains still the township budgets, respecting which he was unable to form even a conjecture. He observes, however, that they include many objects which in Europe are provided for out of the national or district revenue. The debts, amounting as above to about five millions sterling, contracted by ten cities, seem to indicate considerable funds upon which they could be raised. It would not perhaps then be very unreasonable to suppose their expenditure at least equal to that of the counties. Upon these doubtless somewhat loose data we may form a conjecture as to the whole amount throughout the Union.

The general government, as above, $22,489,000,—in sterling	£5,060,000
The states, $6,358,000,—ditto	1,430,000
The counties,	2,550,000
The townships,	2,550,000
	£11,590,000

* American Almanac, 1842, p. 95-99; 1843, p. 35.

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Now, supposing the states had possessed, like Britain, a population of twenty-seven millions, the corresponding amount would be £18,370,000. In 1838, the entire British expenditure, excluding the charge on the public debt, was very nearly £22,500,000. Thus, it appears, that allowing for the relative population, the difference in the comparative cost of conducting the governments is by no means so great as is commonly supposed.

We have now to notice the means of internal defence, beginning with the military resources of the Union. The first principle with American statesmen has been, that a militia is the only instrument on which a free state can safely rely, and that a standing army of any amount is dangerous to liberty. This idea seems proved, by the history both of England and America itself, to be chimerical, unless in cases where the country is already in an anarchical and disorganized state. It is impossible, without a standing force, to carry on a war, and its close, when officers of reputation command the forces, is the most perilous of all situations. Yet it has been encountered without any danger to American liberty. One thing is certain, that an efficient militia in America will never be formed. The scattered state of the population, their busy employments, their independence, and aversion to control, will render it always impossible to keep them together so as to acquire the requisite discipline. We find the successive presidents urging the absolute necessity of immediate measures for improving this force; yet the remonstrance always repeated in terms which intimate that nothing had been done. Jackson, in his last message of December 1836, complains that its defects are becoming every day more apparent, and has not even hesitated to urge the necessity of increasing the rank and file of the regular army.* General Huntington, at the commencement of the last war, frankly reports to congress: "I do not believe any system commensurate to the object will ever be adopted by the government, or if

* Presidents' Messages, pp. 45, 94, 142, 208, 261, 303, 580.

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adopted, be submitted to by the sovereign people.—Let the government proceed to regulate the militia to the utmost length their masters the sovereign people will bear —it will be just so far as to make them food for powder in the day of battle; and death, or what is worse, the loss of honour, may then be expected by every officer of spirit connected with them."*

The reader must in fact have observed, in the course of the historical narrative, that the opening of every war has been marked by disaster, and even disgrace. The militia have been seen fleeing at the first onset, while the officers, with the few troops who stood by them, remained helplessly exposed to the fire of the enemy. The only success has been in defending a few fortified posts, and making some desultory attacks. There has indeed been one very important exception of the militia and volunteers levied in the rude outer borders,—in the first war, the mountaineers of the Alleghany; in the second, the mounted riflemen of Kentucky; and to them the most signal triumphs in both contests may be ascribed. This, however, is a very rough instrument of defence; and its ascendency might be attended with dangers as great as could be dreaded from a standing army.

Jefferson, carrying to the utmost his hostility to this last force, had reduced it at the close of his presidency in 1808 so low as 3000. The highest point to which, by great efforts and expensive bounties, it could be raised during the war, was 31,500 effective men, the number mustered in October 1814. After the treaty it was again reduced, though not so extremely low; and from 6000 to 8000 became the regular peace establishment. In March 1835, the grand total was 8221. Of late years there has been a considerable augmentation. In November 1840, it had been raised to 11,169; consisting of eight regiments of infantry, 5843; four of artillery, 2593; two of dragoons, 1444; ordnance, 311; engineers, 75; medical, pay, &c. 105; staff, 57; recruits, 779. By a vote

* American State Papers (Military), vol. i. p. 263.

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in August 1842, it is to be reduced by 3920 men. The militia for 1843 are stated at 1,711,342, including 627 general, 2670 general staff, and 13,813 field officers; but this is little more than an array of names and figures. A really useful establishment, however, is the military academy, founded in 1802, at West Point, on the Hudson, for the training of officers. According to Van Buren, "it not only furnishes well-educated officers to our army, but serves to diffuse throughout the mass of our citizens individuals possessed of military knowledge, and the scientific attainments of civil and military engineering." Captain Hall, whose judgment on this point cannot be disputed, gives his testimony in its favour.

The navy is an arm in which the Americans, with some reason, place peculiar pride; yet this also, during their period of extreme economy, was suffered to sink very low. In December 1811, it consisted of only seven frigates and eight inferior vessels. This small force, however, as already observed, was in a very efficient state, manned by bold and skilful New England seamen. Its brilliant exploits, though on a limited scale, gratified the national pride; and, on peace being concluded, instead of contemplating any reduction, the government set aside an annual sum for increasing its force. In July 1843, it consisted of ten ships of the line, one of 120 guns, nine of 74: four of them, however, were on the stocks. There were sixteen frigates, one of 54, thirteen of 44, and two of 36 guns; but four only on the stocks. There were also seventeen sloops, eight brigs, and nine schooners. The pay of the officers is liberal; being for senior captains 4500 dollars (nearly £1000) a-year; lieutenants, 1800 dollars (£400). Jackson, in his seventh message, strongly recommends this arm of the national defence, as the best security against foreign aggression.*

* Hall's Travels, vol. ii. p. 289. Messages, p. 641. American Almanac, 1844, p. 147, &c.

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CHAPTER VI.

Agriculture and Manufactures.

Industry of the Americans—Their Mode of Agriculture—Grains—Tobacco—Cotton—Sugar, &c.—Live-Stock—Timber—Furs—Mines—Gold—Iron—Lead, &c.—Coal—Salt—Manufactures—Attempts to promote them—Obstacles—Female Operatives—Successful Branches—Fishery—Cod—Mackerel—Whale.

The pursuits of industry hold perhaps a more prominent place in the American system than in that of any other people. They are peculiarly marked by a spirit of bold enterprise, and by the progressively advancing magnitude of their results. Even the cultivator is not there a retired individual, peacefully tilling his paternal acres: he is an adventurer pushing his way into distant regions, to level the forest and subdue the wilderness. This spirit is still more strikingly displayed in the transactions of commerce, with which it is altogether congenial. It holds here more than its usual place, an extraordinary activity being exerted in extending it to foreign regions, as well as in opening communications through the remotest parts of the vast interior territory. These operations have become leading objects of national policy, attracting the attention and wonder of foreign nations. They have in particular become so entwined with the commercial and monetary system of the British empire, that any change or agitation in the one is felt intensely throughout the other.

We must, however, begin with internal industry, which furnishes the foundation of commerce; and the

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most fundamental branch is doubtless agriculture. The variety of its products, and the preference given to it over manufactures, causes the greatness of the foreign trade, which is employed in exchanging raw commodities for the fabrics of Europe. Yet it is remarkable, considering its great prominence, that there is very little either of capital invested, or of skill or knowledge employed in it. Mr Shirreff states that the very idea of science being so applied is scarcely ever thought of; and British farmers, who have been tempted by the low price of land to embark capital, and introduce a high style of cultivation, have found the circumstances of the country decidedly adverse. Labourers are procured with difficulty, at very high wages; while the lowness of price, and distance of markets, preclude any due remuneration for the heavy expense incurred. The great majority of the rural population own small lots, and cultivate them with their own hands, performing the most essential tasks in a rough, hasty, and superficial manner. Manure being neglected, or too scantily supplied, the ground is either exhausted or requires to be recruited by long intervals of rest; thereby exposing the crop to the Hessian fly, rust, blight, and other plagues.* Mr Stuart estimates the average produce at little more than half of what is raised on similar soils in Britain. These defects have hitherto been little diminished by the rapid advance of America in population and productiveness; the almost unlimited extent and easy acquisition of new land in the western territory rendering the improvement of old soils comparatively unprofitable. The younger sons of a New England cultivator, instead of aiding to improve the family acres, start for that distant region, where they can easily become independent proprietors on the same scale as their forefathers. This arrangement preserves those who remain in a stationary state of rude comfort; yet it still keeps up a system adverse to any high or elaborate culture. It is indeed curious, that while the

* Shirreff, pp. 341-349, 397. Parkinson's Tour in America, pp. 166, 173, 181, 210, 598.

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population altogether has increased with wonderful rapidity, that of the rural districts in the old states has somewhat diminished. In Connecticut, between 1830 and 1840, the addition has been only 3300; but in the towns of Hartford and Newhaven it is 6700, showing a positive decrease in the country districts. In Maryland, the increase of the whole is 22,000; of the towns, 26,000. Massachusetts has obtained a moderate increase through its manufactures; New York and Pennsylvania a larger one, through their extensive back settlements.*

The above remarks must be understood with some modifications. In the vicinity of large cities, land will yield a rent, and attention is paid to garden and dairy produce. The most common arrangement is, that the landlord furnishes half the seed, receiving the same share of the produce.† An Agricultural Society has been formed at Massachusetts, the members of which seek to rescue the art of cultivation from the neglect which it has hitherto experienced, and whence Mr Everett anticipates the happiest effects. Knowledge is communicated, a library has been formed, and prizes are awarded. We may here also remark, that in the southern and slave-holding states, culture is in many respects differently conducted. The properties are larger, and labour is less spared on them, being obtained in a compulsory manner. The proprietors are more opulent, and having merely the task of direction, probably farm better; yet they appear to follow a similar routine, without the application of science or invention.

These circumstances render our materials scanty, the subject being treated by American authors in a very cursory style; sketches only can therefore be attempted, derived chiefly from the notices of British visiters.

The grand staple in every state is maize, or Indian corn, called in this country simply corn. Few vegetable productions have so wide a range, comprehending the

* American Almanac, 1842, pp. 179, 201, &c.
† Stuart, vol. i. p. 276. Shirreff, p. 340.

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whole of the twenty degrees of latitude over which the States' territory extends. It requires only an intense heat for about two months in the year, which this region, from its peculiar climate, every where affords, but whose absence prevents it from thriving even in European temperate regions. It is perhaps also the most prolific of any grain, though on this point informants greatly differ. The western people are accustomed to boast of its yielding a hundred bushels an acre; but this appears doubtful, or to occur only under singularly favourable circumstances. Rochefoucauld estimates it at sixty bushels, which a recent American writer thinks may be expected in ordinary cases. Mr Parkinson, on the contrary, insists that fifteen is a fair average, and that thirty-four is the very utmost that can be looked for. The estimate of thirty-five or forty, by Stuart and Shirreff, may probably be taken as the nearest. The culture is laborious, as the ground must be formed into small hillocks, on which the plantation is made, and the intervals carefully cleared. On this account, and from its exhausting the land, Rochefoucauld censures its general use; but the farmer values it as a cheap and palatable food for himself and family, while it is the very best material for fattening animals. From its bulk and inferior value, it can ill bear the expense of transportation, and brings, in some situations, a price not exceeding 5d. a-bushel. It is mostly, therefore, reserved for consumption on the premises, and for the feeding of stock.*

Wheat, on the contrary, is raised for sale, and is the almost exclusive object of exportation. It finds a soil perfectly congenial in the eastern territory between New York and Virginia, and in the western, between Illinois and Kentucky, all inclusive; inferior qualities being reared even north and south of these limits. The indifferent cultivation renders the produce by no means so ample as in Britain. Mr Parkinson does not average

* Stuart, vol. i. p. 264. Rochefoucauld, vol. i. p. 119. Parkinson, p. 328. Hall on the Western States (Philadelphia, 1838), p. 137.

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it at more than from five to ten bushels, but Mr Stuart allows thirteen. This cause, however, does not seem here, any more than in Poland or other countries, to injure the quality. The flour, a form in which it is frequently prepared with a view to distant commerce, is particularly good; that of Maryland being esteemed the best.

Inferior grains are not wanting. Oats are reckoned defective both by Parkinson and Stuart, the former rating the average, surely much too low, at from three to six bushels. They appear of late to have been much improved, and certainly extended; since, by the census of 1840, their produce in New York and Pennsylvania exceeds that of maize. They are also spreading in the west, where a late writer estimates them to yield forty or fifty bushels. Rye is said to be very good, and much used both for food and distillation. Barley is scarcely at all raised, unless in New York. Buck-wheat is considerable in some districts.*

The delicate tropical grain of rice has long been an American staple, introduced, as already mentioned, about the end of the 17th century, into South Carolina. It is well known to require a soil either swampy or capable of being inundated; and it found here one entirely answering the description. This country, being so much nearer than the East Indies, soon obtained almost the entire supply of Europe; yet the amount exported has not for a long time materially increased. In 1810, it was valued at 2,626,000 dollars; in 1840, at just 1,942,000, about 1-56th of the whole exports. It has never in fact been used in Europe unless as an article of luxury in cooking. The taste, though delicate, is insipid, and agreeable only in combination with some high-seasoned oriental dishes.

Tobacco is a still earlier characteristic staple, whose rise and gradual progress in the face of the most determined opposition and contumely, we have formerly

* Parkinson, pp. 202, 325. Stuart, vol. i. p. 265. Scenes of American Wealth (Boston, 1833), p. 91. American Almanac, 1842, p. 124. Peck's New Guide for Emigrants (Boston, 1836), p. 276.

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traced. These have long since ceased, and it has advanced with the wants of the European community. Its original seats are well known to be Virginia and Maryland, whence it has spread into Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. The culture is difficult and precarious: the soil must be rich, and somewhat moist; the seed is sown on a bed, and then transplanted; the ground must be carefully cleared of weeds, and superfluous leaves and suckers cut away. The crop is left for some days on the ground to dry, then taken and hung up in a barn: it is considered greatly to exhaust the soil. The amount exported is subject to considerable variations, yet is, on the whole, materially increasing. In the ten years ending with 1830, the average value exported was 58,800,000 dollars; in the same period ending 1840, 70,700,000.*

All these objects of culture rank now very secondary to one which, half a century ago, scarcely existed—cotton. It had been raised for domestic use prior to the Revolution; and soon after the peace Georgia began to export small quantities. In 1791, the amount was only 189,000 lbs., but from that period it increased with astonishing rapidity to 6 millions in 1795; 38 millions in 1805; 83 millions in 1815; 176 millions in 1825; 366 millions in 1834. In 1839-40, the crop is stated at 2,177,835 bales, which, at only 300 lbs. each, makes 653,350,500 lbs. The value of cotton exported in that year was 63,870,307 dollars (£14,345,809 sterling), being more than that of all other articles put together.

The cotton is a herbaceous plant, rising to the height of about two feet, and putting forth large and beautiful blossoms of a whitish-yellow colour. It is planted in rows, between March and May, and is gathered between August and October. There are two principal kinds, of which the most valuable is the sea-island, with black seeds, and a fine long staple, bearing a considerably higher price than any other, and growing

* Pitkin, pp. 100, 101. Rochefoucauld, vol. ii. pp. 84, 276. Scenes, &c. p. 96. American Almanac, 1842, p. 108-118.

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along the coasts of Georgia, South Carolina, and the adjacent islands; but from this limited locality only a small quantity (about 12,000,000 lbs.) can be produced. The other is the green-seeded, coarser, and with a short staple, but harder, more prolific, and having a very extensive region adapted for it. When first gathered, it is mixed with seeds, which compose three-fourths of the bulk; and the cleaning was so laborious that the article at one time was considered scarcely worth raising. In 1793, however, Mr Whitney of Massachusetts invented an instrument, by which this is effected so easily that one man can clean three cwts. in a day. It is called the saw-gin, and consists of a wooden box, having one side set with strong wires, through whose narrow interstices are passed a number of circular saws, by which the filaments are caught and drawn into the box, while the seeds remain behind. This cleaning amply compensates the injury done to the staple by breaking the threads; and the benefits of the invention to the States have been immense. It is painful to add, that, while a moderate compensation was made to Mr Whitney by South Carolina and other states, Georgia, the one then chiefly interested, absolutely refused any. A great part of what he received from others was spent in a lawsuit against her, which he at last gained, but too late for him to derive from it any advantage.

This valuable culture was at first confined to the above two southern states; but it has since been fully extended to Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and in some degree to Louisiana and Arkansas. Fresh soil yields about 1200 lbs. per acre, reduced by cleaning to 300; but old lands afford only half that amount. The prices have declined remarkably, the average, down to 1820, being seldom under 1s. a pound, and commonly higher; but from that time they fell rapidly, and, since 1826, have seldom exceeded 6d. Yet this depression has not prevented the continued and even rapid increase of production.*

* Pitkin, p. 108-111. Stuart, vol. ii. p. 124, &c. Waterston's

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Sugar is another tropical article of limited range, almost confined to Louisiana. It is an object of careful cultivation, employing about 33,000 slaves, and having a capital of upwards of two millions invested in it. The produce is usually estimated at from 70 to 100 millions of pounds; but the statement in the census of 1840 makes it 155 millions. Maple sugar, however, is there included, which will be treated as a forest product.* Hemp of excellent quality is raised in Kentucky and some districts of the neighbouring states. The products of the garden and orchard, where the neighbourhood of a market affords a motive for their cultivation, are generally of superior quality; and the excellence of the apples is so well known that they meet a ready sale in Europe.

We have seen that at a very early period certain articles were cultivated with intense solicitude and sanguine hopes, which proved premature and fallacious. Several of these are beginning now to assume importance. The silk of Virginia entirely disappointed its promoters; but Connecticut in 1760 resumed its culture, which spread to Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and in 1771 it had acquired a considerable value. It was more noted, however, for the zeal with which Franklin and other eminent persons urged it, than for the amount produced; and after being entirely suspended by the war, was resumed only on a small scale. About 1832, however, the northern states were seized with an ardent zeal to promote this branch of industry; and bounties were offered by Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. During the excitement of 1836, the cultivation of the mulberry became a kind of mania, directed particularly to one species—the *Morus multicaulis*—though possessed really of no peculiar excellence. It is averred that half the interest in one tree to be used for the supply of seedlings was sold for 10,000 dollars. This delusion

Cyclopædia of Commerce, p. 217. Hunt's Commercial Magazine (New York), No. xviii. p. 557. American Almanac, 1842, p. 118.

* Hunt, No. xii. p. 519. American Almanac, 1843, p. 141.

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has passed away; yet the census still shows a produce of 61,552 lbs.* Wine, too, which baffled all early expectations, is now produced in small quantities, particularly in Ohio and the western parts of New York.

The rearing of animals must form every where an important branch of industry, particularly in new countries, where there are vast tracts of unoccupied land, and pasturage is much less expensive than tillage. Rochefoucauld reckons that in Massachusetts three-fourths of the ground are in grass. The animals are in general carelessly kept, with little selection as to breeds; yet they roam free, have sufficient food, and are fattened on Indian corn, perhaps the best of all materials for the purpose. They are considered, therefore, on the whole, not much inferior to those of Britain. The horses, though only fourteen or fifteen hands high, are active and hardy, yet none of them are equal to the very fine breeds reared in this country. Cattle, having been originally imported from different places, are of mixed quality, but upon the whole meet with commendation; while the sheep, yielding, amid great neglect, a tolerably soft and fine wool, are a secondary object. Hogs, being allowed to roam through the forests, feeding on nuts and acorns, and then fattened on Indian corn, thrive remarkably, and produce excellent pork, which, with beef in a salted state, form leading exports from the new to the old states, and from the latter to foreign countries. The poultry, especially turkeys, are plentiful and excellent; but the ducks Mr Parkinson holds to be inferior. Bees are bred in considerable numbers in the new and southern states; insomuch that wax forms an article of export.† The amount of these different articles, according to the last census, with their distribution through the several states, will be shown in a tabular form at the end of the volume.

A country of such vast extent, with the greater part

* Hunt, No. vii. p. 54.

† Rochefoucauld, vol. i. p. 399; ii. p. 395. Parkinson, p. 284-300.

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still uncultivated, must derive an unusual proportion of its wealth from the spontaneous products of nature. The most important are afforded by those vast natural forests with which the greater part of the territory was originally covered. They include nearly every species of timber fitted for shipbuilding, carpentry, and indeed most other purposes; the chief exceptions being mahogany, log-wood, and other ornamental and dye woods, found only in regions completely tropical. Every day, in the process of clearing, vast woods are falling beneath the axe; but these have been now in a great measure removed from all those districts whence so bulky a commodity can be easily conveyed. Hence this branch, though large, is not of so much importance as at the beginning of the century. In the three years 1803-4-5, the average export of lumber was valued at 2,639,000 dollars; in 1838-39-40, only at 2,346,000. The case is otherwise with oak-bark and other dyeing materials, which admit of easier transportation. The value exported in the first period was 187,000 dollars, in the second, 233,000. Naval stores, tar, pitch, rosin, and turpentine have also fully maintained their ground. Besides the pine-forests in the southern Atlantic states, a large supply has been found in Louisiana and Mississippi, whence they are easily conveyed to New Orleans. The annual value exported in the first period was 494,000 dollars, in the last, 664,000. Pot and pearl ashes have somewhat diminished; in the first period they yielded 717,000 dollars, in the second, 621,000. Ginseng, a minor forest product, has rather declined. Another valuable article drawn from the woods is the sugar afforded by a species of maple which is very generally diffused. It is a tall tree, growing in alluvial ground by the mountain-sides. The maker forms a shed called the sugar-camp, where he places his boilers; and the tree being then tapped to the depth of an inch or more, the juice is received into troughs, carried to the camp, and boiled till it acquires the requisite consistence. New York, Vermont, Ohio, and Indiana are the chief seats of this manufacture, which is not

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exported, but serves to reduce the dependence of the country upon the West Indies.*

In such a region the capture of wild animals forms a natural pursuit, though now less flourishing than formerly. The largest and finest species are no longer found within the limits of the States, having receded before the progress of cultivation; but the deer have rather multiplied, perhaps from the removal of the more ferocious creatures, and their flesh and skins make a valuable prize. In the almost boundless plains west of the Mississippi roam vast herds of bisons and buffaloes, noble animals, whose skins, called robes, are much esteemed. The elk, beaver, and other furred animals, are still found, though much thinned. An American Fur Company was formed at New York, and at one time carried on a great trade to the west of the Rocky Mountains; but the superior management of the Hudson's Bay Company, and their conciliatory course towards the Indians, have enabled them almost entirely to supplant this rival. Mr Lanman complains that wherever this body "plants its iron footsteps, there the American trade is sure to decline." The former company, however, keep stations on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, and along the southern margin of the great lakes, whence they draw a considerable quantity of furs. The annual value exported in 1803-4-5 was 807,000 dollars, in 1838-39-40, 867,000.†

The productions of the earth cannot be fully estimated, without a view of its subterranean treasures; and the mines of this territory may perhaps come into competition with those of any other region in the world. Still, notwithstanding their abundance, the produce does not as yet form a large proportion of the national wealth. The extraction is a work laborious, disgusting, and unhealthy; so that, while high wages can be earned in more agreeable occupations, operatives can be found

* Pitkin, p. 49. American Almanac, 1840-41-42. Scenes, &c., p. 73.

† Hunt's Magazine, No. xv. p. 202. Pitkin, p. 49. American Almanac, 1840-41-42.

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with great difficulty. A large capital, too, is usually required, which has not hitherto abounded. These obstacles are, however, beginning to be overcome.

We shall commence with gold, more on account of its rank among the metals than its actual value. It is found in the mountainous district behind North Carolina, reaching to Virginia on one side, and through Georgia to Alabama on the other, extending thus over a tract of more than a thousand square miles. We have seen Soto allured by its fame into the interior of the continent, and coming to its very border, yet prevented by circumstances from any attempt to procure it. The English settlers in Virginia have been observed inquiring after it with intense eagerness, yet unable, from the distance, to obtain any distinct information. The subject fell asleep till about 1803, when operations began at one or two places, and several large pieces of metal were found. In 1814, a value of 11,000 dollars was deposited in the national mint. Attention was then withdrawn from the subject till 1825, when Professor Olmsted having submitted an account of the district to the Board of Agriculture, a great interest was excited, and even foreigners invested their capital in this object. The amount produced rose to 134,000 dollars, and the works began to spread into Virginia and South Carolina. Next year, Georgia was added, whose mines even equalled those in the original district. The most flourishing year was 1834, when there was furnished to the United States mint a quantity worth 898,000 dollars (£194,566). Since that time the mines have gradually declined, not from any exhaustion of the material, but from labour and capital being attracted to the culture of cotton, and other branches found more profitable. The lowest amount was in 1839, when there was brought into the general mint only 138,500 dollars; but the branch ones received 246,740, making in all 385,240 (£83,468). Mr Wheeler, however, in a recent report to government, gives reason to think that a considerable quantity besides is sent direct to Europe, or passes into

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the hands of manufacturers. He anticipates an increase, and indeed states that additional capital is in course of investment. In fact, the produce in 1840 rose to the value of 426,000 dollars.

The gold is found in some places in small and pure particles, mixed with sand, whence it is separated by simple washing. Elsewhere it occurs in round rocky clefts, in the form of ore, mixed with hard earthy substances, from which it must be separated by smelting with quicksilver. The former is the easiest and least expensive operation; but the latter, from the immense amount of rock ore, is by far the most important. The labourers employed were estimated in 1832—probably too high—at 20,000, being almost all foreigners, among whom there were spoken no less than thirteen languages.*

Iron occurs abundantly in various parts of the Union, and is an object of such utility, that the establishments for working it have long been considerable, though still inadequate. The most productive mine is that at Lisbon, near the White Mountains, where the ore is represented as the richest in the world. It forms a solid rock on the side of a mountain, and has in part the appearance of metal newly cast. Having been first broken in pieces and burnt in a kiln, to expel the sulphur, it is carried to Franconia to be smelted. From its remote situation, however, the quantity removed is not very great. All the New England states possess mines of this metal; and though those of Massachusetts are not rich, and consist mainly of bog-ore, the industry of the state makes them of considerable value. New York contains much metal, which of late has been extensively worked, chiefly into the valuable form of bar iron. Still more important are the mines in Pennsylvania, on the west side of the mountains, in the vicinity of Pittsburg, being indeed the most productive in all America. There are important ores in Maryland, near Baltimore; and the mountain tracts of Virginia

* American Almanac, 1832, p. 226; 1841, p. 212; 1842, p. 90.

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contain vast deposits, which at the first settlement excited sanguine expectations, then premature, but now beginning to be fulfilled. In the western states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, the produce is by no means inconsiderable. Missouri contains mines asserted to be the purest and richest in the world. One mountain in the county of St François, three miles long, one broad, and three hundred and fifty feet high, is entirely composed of metal so pure, that without smelting it serves many useful purposes; and the whole tract is represented as one vast metallic bed. This treasure has not yet been broken in upon; but a railway, now in course of formation, from St Louis to the mountain, is expected to go far in rendering it available.*

Notwithstanding all these resources, the States have been unable to dispense with a large importation of this valuable metal, which has even increased in the face of exorbitant duties and of enlarged internal production. This was doubtless owing mostly to the vast demand occasioned by the formation of railways; and of late, the introduction of metal for this useful purpose has been allowed duty free, while the tax in all cases has been reduced to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.

One of the most extensive mineral deposits in the world is certainly that of lead on the Upper Mississippi; —in the state of Missouri on one side, of Illinois on the other, and said also to extend northwards into Iowa and Wisconsin. In the first-mentioned state, the length of the lead region is reported to be 100 miles, the breadth 40; and in Illinois, on Fever River, which falls into the Mississippi in 42° 19′, Galena has been founded as a receptacle for the produce. It is procured with almost none of those obstacles which render mining elsewhere so arduous. By merely turning up the earth, the ore called galena is found in abundance, and is smelted with the utmost facility, being so pure as to contain seventy or

* Scenes, &c. p. 15, 39. North American Review, vol. xlviii. p. 523. American Almanac, 1840, p. 273.

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eighty per cent. of metal. A ton has been dug up in a day, and fortunes have been realized by the stirring of a spade. An extraordinary spirit of speculation was thus kindled, and such an extent of capital and labour employed, that, in 1828, the produce was upwards of twelve, and in 1829, of fourteen millions of pounds. It soon proved, however, that the finding of rich spots was precarious, and much time thus vainly consumed; and the market becoming greatly overstocked, exertion was gradually withdrawn, so that in 1835 the produce fell to only 3,754,000 lbs. Still, however, a sufficient quantity is produced for the supply of the home market, leaving even a small surplus for exportation.*

There are copper mines of considerable value in Maryland, which are carefully worked, and others of less importance in Massachusetts; but the States are mostly dependent on importation for this metal.

After all, the mineral substance whose abundance most conduces to the prosperity of a country is now generally acknowledged to be *coal*. The United States laboured long under its deficiency, which was felt more severely as they advanced in population and industry. A limited supply was derived from Nova Scotia, to which an addition was made from Rhode Island. Late investigations, however, appear to prove, that there is lodged on the opposite mountain-sides of the Alleghany a store sufficient to supply for ages all the wants of the republic. The main field at present worked is in the heart of Pennsylvania, between the upper branches of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna. This wild broken territory, surrounded by sharp mountain-ridges, intersected by innumerable rivers and streamlets, was twenty years ago one of the most desolate in the whole range of the States. A new world has since sprung up in the wilderness: amid its naked overhanging peaks, smiling villages have been reared, and a fixed and busy population has

* Darby and Dwight's Gazetteer, United States, article Galena. American Almanac, 1838, p. 134.

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been established. The following was estimated, in 1836, as the amount of capital invested :—

Lands,	$4,900,000
Collieries, boats, cars, &c.	1,270,000
Railroads and canals to facilitate conveyance,	8,750,000
Mining capital,	480,000
Value of towns,	3,375,000
	$18,775,000

About £4,069,000 sterling.

This store was first opened in 1820, when 365 tons were brought to market. In 1824, the supply had increased to 9500; in 1829, to 110,000; in 1833, to 485,000; in 1837, to 874,000. The average of 1838 and 1839, owing to commercial depression, was only 755,000. The species is that called *anthracite*, in which the chemical process converting vegetable into mineral matter is somewhat too far advanced. It is heavier and harder than the English coal, emits little flame or smoke, is kindled with difficulty, but gives out an intense heat. It is thus less agreeable for domestic use, but perfectly fitted for manufactures, the smelting of iron, and the production of steam for ships or railways. The mineral is very accessible, being lodged not in veins, but large beds, often on the surface, and capable of being quarried like stone, without galleries. The place first worked was on the river Lehigh, which, after running fifty miles through a beautiful country, falls into the Delaware. In 1825, others were opened on the Schuylkill, which in a few years became the most productive. In 1839, they yielded 442,608 tons; the Lehigh only 220,645. The former is better fitted for household use, the latter for manufactures. A new range, opened on the Lashawana, has acquired considerable importance, though not equal to the others: in 1839, it yielded 122,300 tons. Another large depository has just been opened at Blosburg, on the northern border, near the Erie canal, with which it is connected by a railway. In the end of 1840, a new city had been laid out, its area still covered with trees and

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stumps. Cars conveying 100 tons were running twice a-day, and the quantity was rapidly increasing.

The coal on the western side of the Alleghany is all bituminous, burning with much flame and smoke, and emitting a strong smell. The only mines yet extensively worked are at Pittsburg. Some extend a mile in length, along the side of a hill above the Monongahela, whence the produce can be easily shot down into the boats. This supply is not only most useful to the inhabitants, but the chief foundation of the prosperous manufactures of this flourishing town. In the eastern part of Ohio, in Tennessee, around the Cumberland mountain, and in Arkansas, large stores of the mineral are found.*

The interior regions of the States are peculiarly favoured in possessing numerous *salt* springs, from which they are abundantly supplied with a necessary of life which otherwise must have been procured from a great distance and at a heavy expense. The most important are at Salina, Onondago county, in the western part of New York. The water thus impregnated rises in some places to the surface, but more commonly is procured by boring deep through earth and rocks, and raising it by means of pumps. The salt is extracted either by artificial heat or solar evaporation. The former process, in 1831, employed 135 manufactories, containing 3076 kettles, the fire being maintained with pine wood, which is cheap and plentiful. Several earthy compounds at first settle to the bottom, and are thrown away, after which pure white salt begins to form. When the solar influence is to be employed, the water is placed in vats eighteen feet wide, some six or seven hundred feet long, and reckoned in all to extend fifteen miles. The great spring is situated in a soft alluvial soil, the water being raised into an immense reservoir, whence the manufactories for several miles round are supplied by the Oswego canal, closely adjacent. The produce is

* North American Review, vol. xlii. p. 242. Hunt, No. ix. p. 19. Darby's Gazetteer, article Lehigh. Scenes, &c., pp. 79, 80. Peck's Guide, p. 198.

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conveyed to Lake Ontario, while another cut leads to the Erie canal, where Syracuse has thus risen to importance. The mineral is not so strong as in sea-water; yet forty-five gallons yield a bushel. The produce in 1826 was 827,000 bushels; in 1831, it had risen to 1,514,000.

In the eastern part of Ohio and Kentucky the saline springs are numerous; also on the other side of the Mississippi, in Missouri, and Arkansas. Hence this interior country is duly supplied with salt, which is likewise extracted from sea-water along almost the whole coast of Massachusetts; but this does not prevent a very considerable importation, valued, in 1840, at 1,015,000 dollars.*

Valuable stone for building is found in the northern states, where the formation is primitive. The granites of Massachusetts and New Hampshire are well suited for this purpose; that at Quincy, near Boston, being extremely fine. In this state, Vermont, Connecticut, and at Glen's Falls, on the Hudson, in New York, good marble occurs. The limestone formation of the southern branches of the Alleghany assumes in some places this form, as in Virginia and Kentucky.

Manufactures at present, and for some time, must form a secondary branch of American industry; not, however, from any want of enterprise in the people, nor of a national interest felt in their establishment. This last feeling was indeed strengthened by the domineering and really tyrannical measures adopted by Britain to crush their infant efforts, and render the colonies a mere market for British fabrics. An alarm being taken as to the hat-manufacture, its exercise was restricted, and the exportation prohibited even to another colony; while any mill or engine for working iron was disallowed, and even declared a *nuisance*. This course, however unjust, produced little or no real injury to the colonies, which could with no advantage have engaged extensively in such branches. The American war, cutting off the sup-

* Darby's Gazetteer, articles Onondaga, Salina, Tanner Valley and Mississippi. Scenes, &c., pp. 57, 58. American Almanac, 1842, p. 116.

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ply from Britain, produced an increase of home production, though chiefly in rude and household fabrics; and at the peace, this factitious encouragement being withdrawn, British goods were introduced without restraint. On the formation of the general government, a solicitude arose to check this influx; and the scale of customs duties introduced by Hamilton had avowedly such an object in view. The rates, however, were not so heavy as to enable America to compete with the superior advantages of Britain; so that the efforts to establish factories of any magnitude were few, and partly the result of patriotic zeal. Jefferson, who had imbibed just principles of free trade, and was anxious to reduce taxation, gave no support to them. The case was otherwise when he and his party, impelled by enmity against Britain, introduced the embargo and non-intercourse bills, and finally declared war. The consequent exclusion of British goods gave an unnatural impulse to internal production, and caused the erection of large establishments. This change was boasted of by the ruling party, being indeed the only benefit that could be alleged to have arisen from the war, and it was alleged that the dependence of America on foreign supply had in a great measure ceased. A few months of peace dissolved this illusion. British goods were poured in to the amount of many millions, at rates which drove all home productions out of the market, and involved in ruin the interests which had been thus artificially created. The manufacturers called for aid to the government, which, under the circumstances, could scarcely refuse. Heavy additional duties were imposed; and when it was found that even then America could not withstand British competition, recourse was had to the enormous and almost prohibitory tariff of 1828. The cord, however, had been drawn too tight; the agricultural interest, by far the largest, exclaimed that its interests were sacrificed to force up this unnatural fabric. The Union was shaken to its foundation; and the party who introduced the measure were driven from power. A gradual reduction was then decreed, bringing the duties

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in 1841 down to the rate of 20 per cent., with even a pledge that it should not be exceeded. The aristocratic interest, however, having come into power, has introduced a new tariff on exclusive principles; but it was carried with great difficulty, and will not probably be long supported.

No effort, as already observed, can for a long time place manufactures on a level with the other branches of industry. All sound writers on political economy agree, that their perfection belongs to a more advanced stage of national progress. Abundant capital and labour procured at moderate wages are essential; in which respects, America cannot soon compete with Britain, or even other European countries. Her very advantages forbid it; in particular, the means possessed of indefinitely extending her agricultural interest. The west is continually draining that population which would otherwise seek employment in factories. The old states, as observed above, have, within the last ten years, scarcely at all increased, with the exception of those still possessing wide tracts of uncultivated land. If the Americans choose to shut the passes of the Alleghany, and prevent all emigration westward, they may become manufacturers, but not otherwise. Admitting as we do that this branch will continue to make some absolute progress, its relative inferiority to the agricultural must remain; and the latter must still look abroad for a supply of the finer fabrics.

America, after all, is not without counteracting circumstances, which favour a certain progress in this branch of industry. Although the operatives obtain very high wages, they labour, it is said, extremely hard; they have quick and ready modes of doing all things,—producing thus a greater quantity of work than a European artisan. It is not finished indeed in the same style; but this is not required, quantity being more valued than quality. This circumstance is aided by the ideas prevalent respecting youthful females, especially among the numerous body of working proprietors. They are

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never employed in out-door labour; and domestic service, disguised as it may be under the terms *help*, *boss*, and other dignified appellations, is still for them "a bitter draught." Contrary to our ideas, the situation of a factory-girl is considered more respectable than that of a maid-servant; the former even assuming the title and bearing of a lady. Hence the manufacturers obtain without difficulty a large supply of this class of operatives; and it is gratifying to add, that their conduct is not liable to the reproaches sometimes made against those similarly situated, but is distinguished by great correctness and propriety.*

An early impulse must also have been given by the mere extent of the interior country, and the distance of the whole from Europe. A bulky commodity produced on the spot, if sent over and returned in a manufactured state, incurs the expense of conveyance for hundreds of miles to and from a seaport, and of double freight across the Atlantic. This could scarcely be compensated by very superior manufacturing skill, and affords a strong motive to work up the materials, though roughly, on the spot. The process was probably begun on a small scale, as a domestic employment; then an individual began to prepare the article better and more easily for a village; and the operation gradually expanded into an important manufacture. The tallow of the cattle, with wood-ashes from the adjacent forest, afforded ready materials for soap and candles. The hides of the domestic animals could, without very much labour, be tanned, and converted into boots, shoes, and harness. These three branches have accordingly been carried on in America with such success as not only to supply her own market, but to afford a certain surplus. From the same cause, bulky articles of timber are almost necessarily fabricated at home. Sheep are not a favourite branch of husbandry; and all the wool they produce is worked up in the coun-

* Mechanics' Hand-Book to United States (Lond. 1840), pp. 15, 16. Sturge's Visit to the United States, p. 142-145.

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try; but this does not dispense with a large importation. Cotton exhibits a remarkable instance of a raw material sent to a distant country, and returned thence in a manufactured shape. Yet the coarser stuffs are the objects of a native industry in which such skill has been acquired, that they are produced cheaper than elsewhere, and exported to a considerable amount, while the finer qualities are largely imported. There is even a very delicate fabric, that of glass, which could not, without almost the certainty of breakage, be transported over the rugged roads of the Alleghany. This difficulty has been met; Pittsburg, on the western side, produces it in great perfection, and diffuses it both eastward and westward; so that a very limited importation is now required.

We have no doubt of the existence of causes tending to produce a certain continued extension of American manufactures. Yet there are others, by which perhaps these may be somewhat counteracted. The great improvement of internal communication by canals and railways will remove many of the necessities under which we have observed these branches to have originally sprung up. They will convey to the farmer various foreign articles, cheaper and better than he could make them himself. Thus we see no prospect of America becoming exempt from that dependence on foreign fabrics, under which many of her politicians feel an ill-founded humiliation. We cannot sympathize with the lamentation of a writer in the New York Commercial Magazine, who says, "If we enter upon the wharves of our large cities, we find them crowded with imported goods, for which money must be paid to the foreign manufacturer, and which we might as well have produced ourselves. Turning to the shops of our merchants, we perceive that their shelves are piled with goods of foreign importation. The saloons of our citizens are carpeted with fabrics from foreign looms, and their walls are adorned with imported pictures and statues. We drink our imported wine from imported glass, and sip our imported coffee from imported china. We support our theatres by im-

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ported actors, and drive our horses in imported trappings. We contract foreign loans for the construction of our canals and railroads, and build these railroads of imported iron. We dress our wives and children as well as ourselves in imported cloths and silks; and when we die we are placed in our coffins in imported shrouds."* All this must continue to be, otherwise America cannot advance in her present career of prosperity.

Fishery being a producing branch, may be properly considered in this place. It might not seem a very probable direction for the industry of America. The Dutch, with only a small and precarious portion of soil, might naturally be impelled to draw wealth out of the bosom of the deep; but where such vast tracts of unoccupied land were ready for the plough, there seemed little temptation to engage in this arduous and perilous trade. Fishing, however, has been mentioned as the earliest occupation of New England, and the only mode by which the first voyages thither could be made profitable. A population was thus formed, attached to its hardy and exciting pursuits, and preferring them to any other. The soil there is comparatively barren, and had always a surplus population, part of whom were impelled by an adventurous spirit in this direction; while the coast abounded in fine harbours, with adjacent rocky bays and rich fishing-grounds. Hence this pursuit continued always advancing, and was at length carried out into daring and distant voyages, seeking their objects in the farthest extremities of the ocean.

The cod-fishery forms the grand original object, and finds considerable scope on the coasts of New England, where it is carried on with particular advantage in boats, and the produce spread on the shore to dry. The main field, however, is on the great bank of Newfoundland, to which, by treaty with England, the people have unlimited access. There indeed they carry on the chief fishery, as the English confine themselves mostly to the

* Hunt, No. xi. p. 362.

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coasts and bays of that great island. The fish thus taken cannot be cured on board; but, being gutted, split, and salted, are conveyed to the native port, and spread out upon flakes to dry. They are not, however, equal to those which the British take near the shore. The Americans, moreover, may fish on any part of the British coasts, provided they do not approach within three miles; and even this limited privilege they are said to use with great activity and effect. The quantity of cod caught by shipping from Massachusetts was reported to the legislature for the year ending April 1, 1837, at 510,554 quintals, valued at 1,569,517 dollars. The average annual export for the years 1800-1-2, was valued at 410,928 dollars; for 1838-9-40, at 625,507.*

The mackerel is a species much more plentiful in America than in Europe, appearing along the whole coast of the northern states about the beginning of summer; but the season must be somewhat advanced before it becomes so fat as to form a valuable capture. The fishermen, proceeding some distance out to sea, find them moving in immense shoals, called by them *schools*. They have contrived an ingenious mode of alluring them, by mashing down a great quantity of bait, and throwing it into the sea around the vessel, by which the mackerel are allured in large numbers, and easily caught by the hook and line. They are not dried like cod, but merely pickled, then sorted according to their quality, and packed into barrels. The return for Massachusetts for the year ending April 1837, was 234,059 barrels, value 1,639,042 dollars. Herrings and shad also abound, particularly on the coasts of Maine and New Jersey, and in the Chesapeake. The fish thus prepared by pickling, though on the whole of greater value than the dried, is mostly consumed at home. The average value exported in the years 1838-9-40, was only 171,061 dollars.†

* Pitkin, p. 86. Hunt's Magazine, No. xi. p. 436. American Almanac, 1840-1-2.

† Scenes, &c., pp. 9, 41, 69, 94. Hunt, No. xi. p. 436. American Almanac, 1840-1-2.

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The whale-fishery, however, may be considered the boast of the States, considering the distance at which it is carried on, the dangers encountered, and the capital invested. The favourite quarter, too, is the most remote and perilous, being the southern hemisphere, where European nations adventure only to a small extent. The produce of the peculiar kind of whale there caught, though not large, is highly valuable, being the substance in the brain named spermaceti, whence very fine candles are manufactured. Nantucket in 1690 began this fishery, but has since been nearly rivalled by New London, and greatly surpassed by New Bedford. The trade was much encouraged by the plan of paying the seamen according to the quantity produced, usually in the proportion of three-tenths. Mr Pitkin states the number of vessels employed in 1834 for New Bedford at 181; Nantucket, 76; New London, 41; other ports, 136; in all, 434. He estimates their tonnage at 136,000, and their value at 10 millions of dollars (£2,250,000).

In 1833, the value of the produce was only 4,046,900 dollars. In 1837-8-9, the average was 157,844 barrels of spermaceti, and 222,447 of whale-oil. In 1841, by a report to the national convention, there appear to have arrived at New Bedford 48 ships; Sagg's Harbour, 22; Nantucket, 21; New London, 15; Fairhaven, 13; other ports, 52; in all, 171. The produce was as follows:—

				Dollars.
Spermaceti,	157,643 bar. or	2,073,480 gals. at	95 cents,	2,177,154
Whale oil,	205,164 —	6,531,462 —	33½	4,767,172
Whalebone,	2,073,480 lbs.		20	414,696
				* 7,359,022

* Pitkin, p. 42-44. Hunt's Magazine, No. xix. p. 98; No. xx. p. 198.

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CHAPTER VII.

Domestic Commerce—Steam—Canals—Railways—Banking.

America a Commercial Country—Great Extent of Domestic Commerce—Steam Navigation—Its Rise—Fitch—Stevens—Fulton; his Success—Extension over the West—Disputes about his Patent—Rapid Improvements—Present Extent—Disasters—Their Causes—The Moselle—The Oronoko—Regulations by Congress—Ineffective—Expense and Profits of Steamers—Canals—Early Projects—Great Erie Canal—Others in New York—In Ohio and Indiana—In Pennsylvania—In Maryland—Aid withheld by Congress—Canals in New Jersey—Virginia—New England—Railways—Their Rise—Those formed by New England—New York—Pennsylvania—Maryland—New Jersey—Virginia—Carolina—Georgia—Alabama—The Western States—Banking—Its Modern Origin—Excessive Issue by First Congress—National Bank—Its successive Modifications—Overturned by Jackson—His Demand of Payments in Specie—Excessive previous Speculation—General Suspension of Payments—Partial Resumption—United States Bank at Philadelphia—Banking Regulations in America.

THE production of useful commodities would be of much inferior value, and their extent greatly limited, had not every district the opportunity of exchanging its surplus for articles which can be procured elsewhere. All branches of industry find advantages in local circumstances, and are best conducted on a large scale, which is impracticable without a wide market. Commerce, therefore, although it does not create commodities, adds vastly to their value, and forms the main impulse by which they are urged on towards perfection.

Several causes make this pursuit occupy a pecu-

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liarly important place in America. The prevalence of agricultural over manufacturing industry originates a large exportable amount of the former, while most of the latter must be drawn from foreign sources. This is powerfully aided by the colonial character of the States. The eastern are colonies from Europe ; the western from the eastern. In an old agricultural country, industry is in some degree stagnant, proceeding in a fixed routine ; the cultivators usually poor, and tolerably content with home produce. But the colonist departs from an improved and cultivated country, carrying with him all the skill and all the desires which have there arisen. He goes into a vast unoccupied region, where every thing is to be created anew, and no old or fixed track is marked out for him. He seeks not merely to supply his urgent wants, but to establish himself in his accustomed state of comfort and well-being. He must then cultivate articles suited to the market of the civilized world, and which will bring in return its luxuries and finer manufactures ; and this necessity must give rise to an extensive commerce. That of the States derives also a peculiar importance from the vastness of the space over which it ranges. Their interior territory possesses the magnitude of a continent, and their principal foreign markets can be reached only by crossing the ocean. An extraordinary activity, and efforts almost gigantic, are required to overcome the obstacles interposed to such communications.

Commerce divides itself naturally into two branches, the domestic and the foreign, both of which, in this country, exhibit some remarkable features. To the first, as the fundamental branch, we shall direct our attention in the present chapter.

The domestic intercourse finds ample scope in its vast extent of territory and great variety of climate. These include the whole range of the temperate zone, and partake on one side of the tropical and on the other of the arctic. Each portion thus abounds in commodities wanting in the others. The several states, too, have

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made a varying progress in the different branches of industry, out of which arises a mutual dependence.

Within the range of the Union, we may mark four distinct compartments, having each productions peculiar to itself. 1. The Northern Atlantic or New England, has a surplus derived from fishery, manufactures, and the breeding of cattle. 2. The Middle Atlantic yields in profusion grain, particularly wheat, which, in the form of flour, is largely exported both to the north and the south. 3. The Southern Atlantic has a large surplus of cotton, tobacco, and rice, while it is dependent on the first two for many articles regarded as necessaries. 4. The Western shares the variety of climate and vegetation remarked in the eastern, but has a great superfluity of the rude produce of the soil, while it depends on the Atlantic states for almost every species of luxury and manufactured commodity.

While an active intercourse between the different states is thus rendered a matter even of necessity, it encounters peculiar and formidable difficulties; the very extent being equal to what we regard as constituting a foreign trade. From Portland (Maine) to New Orleans, the direct distance is nearly the same as from London to Constantinople. The great range of the Alleghany forms, besides, a most arduous barrier between the eastern and western states. The latter have thus no waters flowing towards the Atlantic, which they could reach only by a laborious and expensive portage. They have, indeed, a noble system of rivers; but all uniting in one trunk, which terminates in the remote coast of the Gulf of Mexico. The magnitude, however, of these obstacles, has only impelled the Americans to encounter them with determined energy. They have invented new modes of communication, and to an unprecedented extent employed others already known. They have thus excited the admiration of the Old World; and the most distant points in their vast domain have been opened up, and rendered easily and speedily accessible.

The first great improvement, and one almost wholly

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their own, was that of steam navigation. They had noble rivers, but with courses of such length, that to navigate them, at least against the stream, was a process too tedious to be consistent with any brisk and active intercourse. The application of this new power had therefore a higher interest here than in any other country. The general principle had already been investigated, and some trials made in Europe. Even in the seventeenth century, the Marquis of Worcester boasted of possessing an engine by which vessels could be propelled against the stream ; and Prince Rupert actually constructed a steamboat upon the Thames. Afterwards, in Scotland, Mr Miller of Dalswinton, and Mr Symington, an engineer, constructed boats which proceeded with considerable speed on the Forth and Clyde Canal. In 1781, a steam-vessel, upwards of 100 feet long, was launched on the Saone, in France, and a favourable report of its performance made to the Academy of Sciences. In all these instances, however, the speed was not sufficient for practical purposes. The Americans then began to come upon the field.

About the year 1783, one John Fitch, a watchmaker of Philadelphia, poor and illiterate, devoted his whole mind to the subject. He in vain sought aid from congress, but obtained from the legislature of New York an exclusive right to practise his invention for fourteen years within the limits of that state. He raised funds sufficient to build a boat, which, in 1788, was launched, and performed a trip to Burlington, a distance of twenty miles. There the boiler burst ; it was restored with difficulty, and a second voyage performed ; but, from some defect in the machinery, a series of accidents occurred ; his invention was discredited, and his funds exhausted. He retained always, however, the most enthusiastic confidence in the future success of the scheme, declaring it to be only from his being poor John Fitch that it was now neglected. He even desired to be buried on the banks of the Ohio, fancying that his rest would one day be soothed by the sound of steamers passing along its waters.

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The subject, however, was in 1791 again taken up by Mr Stevens, resident at Hoboken, a beautiful village opposite New York. He became associated with Mr Livingstone, an eminent political character, and Mr Brunel, probably father to the well known engineer. They succeeded in constructing a steam-boat, and, confident of success, procured through Mr Livingstone's influence an exclusive patent during twenty years for thus navigating the waters of New York. They were required, however, within a year, to produce a vessel which should sail three miles an hour; but a failure in this condition rendered the privilege void.

The same object, however, was pursued by Robert Fulton, a man of genius, born in the interior of the state of Pennsylvania. He turned his first attention to painting, and removing to London, began to practise that art under Benjamin West. His mind was next directed to engineering, for which he had the advantage of being received into the house of Mr Barlow. His views were then attracted entirely to the improvement of steam navigation; and he invented the submarine boat, so famous under the name of *torpedo*. Repairing to Paris, he met Mr Livingstone, who had been sent as ambassador to the court of the Tuilleries. They immediately united their counsels and efforts, and produced a vessel, which was successfully launched on the Seine in the spring of 1803. Fulton was satisfied that the true mode of propulsion was by wheels and paddles; and such an engine was ordered from the manufactory of Watt and Boulton. Mr Livingstone procured from the bounteous legislature of New York another patent of twenty years, and Fulton repaired to that city, where a vessel under his direction was constructed, and launched in the spring of 1807. A day was appointed for her departure to Albany; a vast crowd assembled, agitated by various feelings, among which incredulity, amounting even to derision, was prevalent. The moment came; she began to move, but suddenly stopped; failure seemed certain. The defect, however, was instantly discovered and re-

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medied. Fulton and his friends then saw her with exultation ascending the river at five miles an hour; and their triumph was completed when intelligence came down from Albany, that she had maintained that speed for 150 miles. The success of steam navigation was decided, though its powers were not yet fully developed.

Stevens, meantime, had been diligently improving his invention, and only a fortnight after Fulton's success, was ready with another and greatly improved vessel. Being shut out, however, from the Hudson by the rival patent, he navigated it along the coast, entered the Delaware, and arrived at Philadelphia. He was thus the first to prove the practicability of steam navigation on the open sea.

This career was not then pushed farther; it was under Fulton's auspices that the invention was extended to the rivers of the interior. The Clermont continued to ply as a regular packet to Albany; and during the first year, two additional vessels, the Raritan and the Car of Neptune, were launched. A line of steam-boat ferries was also established on the Hudson, and one boat plied regularly between New York and Brooklyn. Opposition, however, soon arose to this as to other innovations. The proprietors of sailing-ships, seeing their interests, which they considered as rights, seriously invaded, opposed every obstruction in their power to the new vessels, and even endeavoured to damage them by intentional collisions. The right of the patentees was disputed, and a company, established at Albany, began running a rival line upon the Hudson. Against this encroachment, an injunction was prayed for from the United States circuit court; but it declined exercising jurisdiction on the subject. The state court of chancery was then applied to, but refused, on the ground that the legislature, in making the grant, had exceeded its powers. An appeal, however, was taken to the state court of errors, and the cause was defended with enthusiasm and eloquence by Emmet, the celebrated political exile from Ireland. A reversal of the sentence was thus obtained; and a com-

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promise was concluded, which induced the other party to desist from farther appeal.

The grand application, however, of this instrument was to the western regions, which have been mainly indebted to it for their advancement and prosperity. The settlers there had hitherto been buried as it were in an immense desert, shut out from nearly all communication with the civilized world. The voyage from New Orleans to Cincinnati, of about a thousand miles, occupied usually four months, and was effected by toils which only the most iron frame and indomitable spirit could support. The boats were either propelled by poles, or, when the stream was too deep, drawn by ropes. In this last case, the operator was forced to travel on the heated sand, to wade through mire, to climb precipitous banks, to push his way through brushwood, and often to tread along the undermined shore, which, giving way under his feet, precipitated him into the eddying torrent of the Mississippi. At the same time the Indians, often in large bands, either openly attacked or sought to allure the boatmen on shore. So imminent was this danger, that even on the Ohio it was thought necessary to assure passengers by a placard, that "every person on board will be under cover made proof against rifle or musket balls, and convenient port-holes for firing out of." The boatmen themselves were a most reckless and desperate race, totally beyond the pale of law or civilisation. They were generally faithful to the charge intrusted to them, but from their number and hardihood proved formidable visiters in the small villages along which they passed. Joining cupidity to a spirit of wild drollery, their frolics and depredations made them at once the amusement and terror of the whole west.

Fulton was hence very speedily employed in extending his invention to the western rivers. In 1812, he built on his own account, at Pittsburg, the Orleans of 400 tons, and next year, at the same place, the Vesuvius of 340, for a company at New York and New Orleans. Soon afterwards there was constructed for the latter, we

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suppose by him, the Etna of 340. About the same time smaller vessels, the Comet of 25 tons, the Enterprise of 45, and the Despatch of 25, were formed by Daniel French. These first attempts met with reverses which threatened to disappoint the hopes founded on this mode of communication. The Orleans was wrecked on a snag; the Vesuvius ran twice aground, and was finally burned. The vessels, after reaching New Orleans, were merely employed in running between that place and Natchez, without any attempt to re-ascend to the Ohio, the practicability of which was generally doubted. In 1817, however, the Enterprise reached Louisville in twenty-five days,—an event which caused there great exultation; and in the same year, the Washington of 400 tons, built at Wheeling, sailed down and returned in forty-five days. This result was considered as deciding the success of western steam-navigation. The vessels had hitherto been constructed merely for the transport of merchandise; but the General Pike of 200 tons, built at Cincinnati in 1818, was fitted up exclusively for passengers; and the two objects have since been combined. About the same time, the Independence of 50 tons sailed up the Missouri to support the expedition under Lewis and Clarke, and soon after the Western Engineer ascended against the powerful current of that river to the Council Bluffs, about 650 miles above St Louis. In 1819, the Postboy of 200 tons was employed in the conveyance of the mail.

Meantime, Fulton was harassed by new attempts to set aside his patent by the states of New Jersey and Connecticut, who complained that it fettered their navigation. Yet he was employed in constructing a steam-frigate, which, in the end of 1814, was launched at New York, amid the acclamations of numerous spectators. His health, however, for some time declining, was farther injured by the fatigues encountered on this occasion; and on the 15th January 1815 he expired. Public honours were paid at his funeral, and the legislature even went into mourning. No substantial bounty, how-

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ever, was conferred on him or his family, and from his great outlay and repeated losses, with expensive lawsuits, he died in embarrassed circumstances.

His heirs and those of Mr Livingstone continued for some time to maintain the patent. In 1824, however, the dispute was renewed, and carried before the supreme court. The cause of the patentees was again forcibly supported by Emmet, but opposed by the powerful oratory of Mr Webster; and a decision was finally given, that the legislature of New York, in granting this privilege, had invaded the exclusive right of regulating commerce, which the constitution vested in congress. The pursuit was therefore thrown open to all, and the most active competition and ingenious contrivances have been since employed to render the vessels at once more speedy and commodious. Even at that time they occupied thirty hours in sailing to Albany, making an hourly rate of only five miles. Now they perform the same voyage in ten hours, or fifteen miles an hour. This speed appears to be chiefly produced by using very large condensing engines, and obtaining great power in proportion to the size of the vessel. The Rochester, the swiftest on the Hudson, is supposed by Mr Stevenson to have one equal to 748 horses, and the Narragansett, the finest running from New York to Providence, one of 772; while the Great Western, a much larger vessel, has only 450. They are built with flat hulls and perpendicular sides, reaching a very small depth into the water, and thus encounter less resistance from that element; but, as will be presently observed, this involves some sacrifice of security. Curious alterations are made to improve boats whose sailing has been found defective. It is common to cut one down through the middle, and either add to or take from its length. The Swallow, by having twenty-four feet thus annexed, was converted from a very inferior to one of the swiftest vessels. Passengers are also attracted by the internal arrangements, which have been made in a high degree not only commodious but splendid.

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About the year 1818, this agent was extended to the coasting-trade, a packet being established between New York, Charleston, New Orleans, and Havannah. This mode of intercourse has been still farther carried out, though not to the same extent as in the internal waters, or on the British coast. An important extension was about the same time made to the great lakes on the northern border. A steamer called Walk-in-the-Water, to the astonishment of the wild borderers, was propelled across those of Erie and Huron to the port of Michimillimak. The former expanse, as well as that of Ontario, is now traversed by numerous vessels of this description.*

The amount of steam-tonnage employed in the States can be matter of little more than conjecture. Two accounts, purporting to be official, have been published, one appended to the annual state of commerce and navigation for the year ending 30th September 1837; the other from returns made to congress on the express subject, for December 1838. The discrepancies, however, between the two are so gross, that we cannot really attach value to either. Thus, the amount for Louisiana is stated in 1837 at 54,421; in 1838, at 4986. The total is said to be, in 1837, 700 vessels and 153,660 tons; in 1838, 126,673 tons. There would thus appear a great diminution during the year; although the case, we are persuaded, was the reverse. It is stated that about 1300 vessels have been built, of which 260 may have been lost, 240 worn out, and 800 now (1838), in operation. We add, without guaranteeing, the following distribution of the vessels, tonnage, and horse-power:—

	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Power.
Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico,	351	65,946	13,318
North-Western Lakes, . .	63	17,287	5,857
Mississippi Valley, . .	285	43,440	15,934

This makes only 699, but is supposed to be deficient by about a hundred.

* Hunt's Commercial Magazine, No. xx. Hall's Western States, p. 220-234. Stevenson's Sketch of the Civil Engineering in North America, pp. 119, 146.

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A distressing circumstance alloys the satisfaction with which we should view this grand and useful mode of communication. Numerous and fatal accidents have chequered and rendered it indeed one of the darkest pages in the story of human calamity. We have already observed that, in the construction of the vessels, even on the eastern waters, speed rather than safety has been aimed at; a practice which has been followed to a much more alarming degree in those of the west. In the former, the cabins, being beneath the regular deck, and thus in the body of the vessel, serve to steady the movement; while in the latter, they are placed above, and even story raised over story, to procure ample space for passengers, without almost in any degree increasing the weight of the ship, or its hold on the water. While no cost, too, is spared in producing splendour of appearance and accommodations, a sordid economy is often practised upon the more substantial objects. Mr Stevenson declares that the eye of a skilled engineer could not look at these structures without shuddering; and an American writer compares them to the bark-canoe of the Indian, "as buoyant and as frail." The engines employed are almost exclusively high-pressure, by which the required power can be procured with less cost, less weight, and in a smaller space; so that every object of the owners is gained, except the safety of their passengers. They allege that with due care the one pressure may be as secure as the other; but experience seems fatally to prove the contrary. At all events, the caution necessary seems beyond what can in ordinary cases be depended on.

The masters of these vessels, though many of them are said to be well qualified for their situation, share in many instances the rude and reckless character of the borderers. Racing, by no means unknown in the eastern waters, is carried on in the west with extreme eagerness; and even the passengers take a pride in seeing their vessel victorious. Rivalry and enmity are said sometimes to be so violent that they impel to intentional collision. We may add, that the bed of the Mississippi

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is beset with many and peculiar obstructions. The most formidable are *snags*, the trunks of large trees borne down by the current, and becoming fixed in the channel, but concealed, so that these frail fabrics, on striking against them, are immediately upset. In other places, rocks and bars of sand are encountered. Great pains have been taken to clear away these obstructions; but this mighty and troubled stream is continually bringing them down afresh, and even working for itself new and untried channels. Its winding course, with numerous curves and bends, in which projecting points shut out the view of all objects beyond, causes a constant danger of collision. When this happens, the terrific crash, the shrieks of the passengers, the utter confusion, too often deprive the pilots of all presence of mind, and prevent them from adopting even obvious means of safety.

The most awful catastrophe of this nature was perhaps that of the Moselle in 1838. She was a fine new vessel, having made only one or two trips, and the captain, a spirited and active young man, was determined to gain for her, at all hazards, the reputation of being the swiftest on the river. He had already acquired for her that of being "a crack boat;" and when his departure from Cincinnati on the 25th April was announced, multitudes crowded to secure their passage in the swift-sailing Moselle. This desire was heightened, with very bad reason, by the rumour of the captain having declared his absolute determination to beat another steamer that had previously departed. The vessel thus attracted much more than her complement of passengers, who were admitted without scruple till, with the crew, they amounted to about 260. The greater proportion had crowded to the front in order to witness the rapid passage along the city, where numerous and excited spectators lined the shore. Scarcely had the vessel begun to move, when an explosion ensued, and the whole of the front was blown into the air. It was like the springing of a mine; the four boilers burst at once; and though the river was a quarter of a mile broad, the fragments and bodies were scattered across its channel,

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reaching to both banks. Such was the force, that the head of one man penetrated through a roof 300 yards distant. The captain himself was found lying on the shore, dreadfully mangled. Of those who leaped from the vessel or were thrown into the water, many were saved by their own exertions, or the aid actively afforded by the people on shore, and among them the most affecting scenes ensued. Husbands were seeking their wives, parents their children, with wild cries, but too often in vain. One man saved a son, but lost a wife and five children; another was bereft of nine members of his family. Some, after giving up the hope of ever seeing their friends, suddenly met them, and fainted for joy. The official account of the loss is 120 killed and 16 wounded, but some believe it to have been greater.

This catastrophe was almost immediately followed by that of the Oronoko, on the Mississippi, during her upward passage from New Orleans. A flue collapsed, when the steam escaping, swept the deck with such fury, that the whole of the passengers, being crowded upon it, were blown into the water. It then rushed into the cabin, whose tenants were nearly all either scorched or suffocated. Almost the only escape was in the sleeping apartments, which were so well constructed, that those who had presence of mind to keep the door fast shut, sustained little injury. It was necessary to tow the vessel to Vicksburg, where every aid was afforded; but the loss in killed was estimated at 130.

These disasters, succeeding many others, spread such a general alarm through the country, that congress took up the question. After a careful inquiry and report, a regulating act was passed on the 7th August 1838, by which every vessel was required to receive a new license, granted by the district judges, after inspection and report by one or more competent persons; and this provision was to be renewed every year, and, with regard to the boilers, every half-year. Each captain, not provided with such license, was to pay 500 dollars. All persons employed, through whose negligence or miscon-

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duct lives had been lost, were declared guilty of manslaughter, and might be punished with ten years' imprisonment. In case of any derangement in the vesel or its machinery, the presumption was to be held against them, until they should afford positive proof of innocence. Stringent as were these regulations, a respectable American authority assures us, that they have remained nearly a dead letter. Congress has little local power, and can scarcely suppress any serious resistance, unless by the cumbrous operation of calling out troops. The owners of steamers, and those whom they employ, form a numerous body, possessing great local influence; even the state-governments are either under their sway, or cannot venture to take strong measures against them. It would really seem that there has not been any material reduction in the number of these dismal casualties.

Reports to congress in 1838 state the entire accidents from the commencement of steam-navigation at 228. Of these—99 happened by explosions and collapses; 28 by fire; 25 by shipwreck from collision, gales, &c.; 52 by snags and other obstructions; 24 by different and unknown causes. As only about forty of the above were prior to 1830, the number in the subsequent nine years to 1838 inclusive, must have been about 188, or more than twenty in the year. The number of persons killed was 1676. The same rule will bring them in the last nine years to about 1400, or nearly 160 annually. The wounded amounted to 443. The statement is no doubt very incomplete, as in numerous cases the particulars were unknown, and many were not reported at all.*

The expense of constructing a western steamer is estimated by Mr Hall at 100 dollars per ton, while the repairs necessary during the course of four years may be about half that sum. Another writer considers this too high, observing that the cost is in general in-

* North American Review, January-April, 1840. Hall's Western States, p. 299, &c. American Almanac, 1840, p. 121.

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versely as the size, a large one being built cheaper in proportion to the tonnage. He supposes that good plain vessels of 75 or 100 tons may be built for 80 dollars per ton; those of 500 for 60. There is a great difference, indeed, according to the finish; thus the Uncle Sam and the Henry Clay, both of 500 tons, cost respectively 29,500 and 43,000 dollars. The larger vessels have the disadvantage, that in July, August, and September, there is not water sufficient to float them on the western rivers; and even during part of the other months they are obliged to confine themselves to the lower trade. Hence the majority, and especially such as are intended to ply on the tributary streams, are smaller. These vessels are much less durable than those on the eastern waters, being composed of a softer wood, far too hastily put together, and exposed to a greater variety of accidents. Mr Hall reckons their duration at four years; and they are admitted to be seldom worth much after five or six. He quotes the opinion of an assembly of steam-boat owners, that their construction was a losing investment; and a respectable individual, thus engaged for many years, and particularly fortunate in escaping accidents, had not cleared above 6 per cent.,—a very low profit in the United States. We cannot but hesitate to receive such statements respecting a trade which continues to be briskly carried on. There will doubtless be great variety as to the results, and good management will be necessary to make them very favourable. The other writer takes a different view, stating that a vessel is expected to clear the whole cost of her construction in a single year, and in some cases has actually done so. He admits, that it more commonly requires two or even three years, but considers it even then as a profitable investment.*

Canals have been long known as one of the prime agents in promoting national prosperity, by transferring the surplus produce of one district to another, where

* Hall, pp. 235, 236. Tanner's Mississippi Valley, p. 333.

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value may be obtained for it. Those of Egypt and Italy were mostly intended for navigation; those of China were commercial and signally beneficial, but too distant to influence the inhabitants of Europe. Holland first showed the advantage of a country completely intersected by navigable channels. Towards the end of the last century, England began to follow her example, and in a short time completed a most extensive system, from which remarkable benefits have arisen. America, from the vast extent of her territory, and many parts lying far inland, stood particularly in need of this improvement; yet the great scale on which it was required, the thinness of the population, and the scarcity of capital, presented very formidable obstacles.

Her bold spirit was not deterred by these difficulties, but directed itself at once to the most extensive and arduous of the objects in view. This was to connect the maritime states with the great inland region watered by the Mississippi, separated as these were by the rugged barrier of the Alleghany. Pennsylvania first imbodied this idea, natural to a state whose back territory stretched over the mountain-region, and included even the upper course of the Ohio. Plans began to be formed immediately after the organization of the central government, previous to which no connected scheme of this kind could be attempted. In 1791 and 1792, two companies were formed, one called the Delaware and Schuylkill, the other the Schuylkill and Susquehanna; and for each a capital of 400,000 dollars was subscribed. This, however, was too little even to break ground with such an object; and after part of the money had been spent, both companies were dissolved.

Some years after, New York came into the field. She, too, embraced a large extent of the western plain, with the additional advantage, that the great river Hudson penetrates through a deep valley into that region. This opening, though interposed between the highest branches of the Appalachian chain, is said itself nowhere to rise above 141 feet, so that if the Atlantic were so far ele-

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vated, it would reach to the St Lawrence, and convert New England into an island. From this structure it results, that from the head of the ship-waters of the Hudson to Lake Erie, the country is almost a continued level, opposing no serious obstacle to the formation of a canal. The advantage thus offered was early perceived, and, even in 1777, Governor Morris pointed this out as a benefit likely to be derived from national independence. It was felt for many years to be beyond the resources of the new republic, till, in 1803, he began seriously to discuss the plan with M. de Witt, the intelligent surveyor-general of the state. Five years more elapsed ere he could prevail upon the legislature to order the necessary surveys. These being satisfactory, in 1810, a board of commissioners was appointed to organize the scheme, including Messrs Livingstone and Fulton, also De Witt Clinton, who afterwards became the most active supporter of the design. On publishing the plan, however, they could scarcely obtain a hearing, and were assailed by sneers, ridicule, and a general incredulity. Congress and several of the neighbouring states were in vain applied to for aid. Confident, however, in the solid grounds on which they proceeded, they presented, in 1812, a report to the legislature, recommending without hesitation that New York alone should engage in the undertaking. They represented the extent and fertility of the region with which a communication was to be opened, containing more land, and of superior quality, than the Atlantic states. The net produce, at no distant period, might be estimated at a million of dollars. This calculation, they said, might be considered chimerical by men who had too much pride to study, and too much wit to think; but their reasons were solid; the advance of the nation in numbers and wealth outran fancy; and things, the idea of which would have been laughed at twenty years ago, were now seen fulfilled.

The measure might still have proved abortive, but for the exertions of Mr de Witt Clinton, to whom America is mainly indebted for this grand improvement. The

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war with Britain, which immediately ensued, delayed it for some years; but on the 4th of July 1817, the first excavation was made. Its execution was provided for by a loan of eight millions of dollars, raised at five and six per cent., and made redeemable partly in 1837, and fully in 1845. These terms were judged so advantageous, that the successive loans were effected without difficulty, and even bore a premium. Thus the work was carried on steadily, and in October 1825 was brought to a conclusion. From Albany, at the head of the Hudson ship-navigation, to its termination in Lake Erie, the length was 363 miles, being the greatest extent of actual cutting that had ever been expended on any one canal. The principal one of China has a longer navigation, but is composed in a great measure of the courses of rivers. The American one is forty feet wide and four deep, which does not allow the passage of very large barges, and has indeed been found inconveniently small. The sound principles, however, on which it had been constructed, soon became manifest. The tolls increased rapidly every year, till, in 1831, they exceeded the estimated million of dollars. In 1839, including the smaller connected one of Champlain, they had risen to 1,617,000 dollars. This advantage, however, was small, compared to the vast impulse given to the industry of the western territory. Even in 1833, there were brought to Albany and West Troy goods to the value of 12,737,000 dollars (above £2,500,000). This prosperity was strikingly proved by the rise of small towns on the line of the canal into large cities.

In 1825,	Buffalo	contained a pop. of	2,600—	in 1840,	18,213
.....	Rochester	...	5,271	.....	20,191
.....	Utica	...	5,040	.....	12,782
.....	Albany	...	15,971	.....	33,721

The shipments at Buffalo in 1840 included 639,633 barrels of flour, 883,100 bushels wheat, 47,885 of Indian corn, 18,435 barrels of pork, 7027 of beef, and 9008 of ashes. The tolls amounted to 410,000 dollars, about a third of those on the entire canal, which consequently

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must have conveyed three times the above quantities, comprehending, besides, only the principal heads. The number of boats plying on this and some smaller canals, amounted, even in 1833, to 2328, employing 11,000 men and boys.

About the same time with the above, the state undertook a canal from the vicinity of Albany to Lake Champlain, which, stretching northward in a long line, reaches almost to the St Lawrence, near Montreal. It was completed in 1823, at an expense of 1,179,000 dollars, the distance being sixty-four miles. The tolls, in 1833, had risen to 132,559 dollars, an amount less remunerative than that on the other line; still the country has no doubt derived from it great advantages. The state has since executed some smaller lines in connexion with this great one. One reaches thirty-eight miles from Syracuse, on the great canal, to Oswego, on Lake Ontario, forming thus a connexion between New York and that great expanse. It was completed in 1828, at an expense of 565,000 dollars; and in 1839, yielded of tolls 37,278, which,however,did not pay the annual cost, amounting to 48,776. A line of twenty-two miles from the Great Canal south to the large lakes of Cayuga and Seneca, was completed in the same year, for 237,000, and yielded, in 1839, 19,354 dollars. Another of eight miles, from Seneca to Crooked Lake, finished in 1833, cost 156,700 dollars; tolls in 1839, 1893 dollars. The Chemung Canal continued the line from Seneca Lake to Tioga, where it became connected with a great one formed in Pennsylvania. Here, however, besides the direct line of twenty-three miles, it became necessary to form a feeder sixteen miles long, and the cost was 335,700 dollars; tolls, in 1839, only 4767. A considerably longer line, called the Chenango, was undertaken from Utica to Binghampton, also on the Pennsylvania frontier. It extends ninety-seven miles, and was completed in 1836, at a cost of 1,960,000 dollars; tolls in 1839 only 17,999. It is observable, that none of the lateral branches, in 1839, nearly defrayed the cost of repairs. Yet so ample were the proceeds

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of the Erie and Champlain line, that the general result was very favourable, the tolls being 1,698,500, the expenditure 769,500, net income 929,000 dollars.

The success which had attended these works, and the credit derived from them, encouraged the legislature to proceed on an augmented scale. The small dimensions of the Erie Canal having been found inconvenient, in May 1835, they authorized the commissioners to enlarge it, increasing the depth of water at least from four to six feet, and the breadth from forty to sixty. A double set of lift-locks were also to be constructed. The expense of transportation would thus be diminished 50 per cent. The estimate was 10,368,000 dollars, being more than the original construction; yet it is now believed, that a much greater amount would be requisite. Four millions have already been raised for the purpose; but the work is only partially executed, and, we believe, entirely suspended. It seems, indeed, to be beyond the present resources of the state, which, in 1840, had incurred a canal debt of 12,494,000 dollars. Another cut has been commenced from Rochester to Olean, near the head of the Alleghany, through which it would communicate with the upper Ohio. A loan of two millions has been raised for the purpose; but it is still unfinished.

Besides these state canals, an important one, the Delaware and Hudson, has been executed by a private company, with a view to transport coal from Pennsylvania. It begins on the Hudson, ninety miles above New York, reaches thence fifty-nine to the Delaware, then twenty-four along that river to the mouth of the Lackawaxen, and by its course twenty-six miles to Honesdale, whence a railroad of sixteen miles reaches to the coal-mines. The whole line extends 125 miles, and cost 2,305,000 dollars, 110 locks having been required. No periodical account is published; but the coal conveyed by it in 1833 amounted to 111,777 tons.

Meantime the young state of Ohio, deriving ample benefits from the Erie Canal, saw still greater within its reach, and, fired with a noble emulation, made efforts

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which seemed beyond its strength. The obviously desirable object was to connect Lake Erie with its own river; but this was a gigantic operation, scarcely second to the New York Canal. In 1825, however, a board of internal improvement was appointed, liberal grants of land obtained from congress, and a loan of five millions raised. Thus the work was commenced with great spirit in 1825, and completed in 1832. It had the same dimension as the Erie, forty feet broad and four deep, and required 1185 feet of lockage. It reached 305 miles from Cleveland, on the lake, to Portsmouth, on the Ohio. As this last terminus was distant from Cincinnati, the principal town of the state and of the west, one was formed leading thence into the interior along the Maine to Dayton, sixty-three miles long, and of the same breadth and depth. These two works, through improvements derived from experience, cost scarcely 5,500,000 dollars. In 1833, the tolls were 181,954; in 1841, they had risen to 488,800. An extraordinary impulse has thus been given to the industry of the state. Cleveland, between 1830 and 1840, raised its population from 1076 to 6071; Dayton, from 2965 to 6067. At the former place, there arrived in 1840, by the canal, 2,141,450 bushels wheat, 504,900 barrels flour, 782,033 lbs. butter, 683,499 lbs. bacon, 513,452 lbs. cheese, 634,954 pieces staves and heading, 3,407,132 lbs. iron.

These spirited proceedings kindled a corresponding rivalry in the still newer state of Indiana. The great object here was to connect her main stream of the Wabash with the western point of Lake Erie. The length required was 187 miles; but 82 lay within the limits of Ohio, which cheerfully undertook to execute her share. Both states, aided by liberal grants from congress, applied themselves, in 1835, vigorously to the task; and Indiana, in 1838, is reported as having completed 80 miles. The Ohio part, estimated to cost 2,647,000 dollars, wanted, in 1841, 400,000 for its completion. We suspect the two branches have not reached beyond the above points, though Mr Tanner has included the whole

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in his condensed list. The great depression of funds and credit in all the states, and especially the western, has, we believe, suspended every work of this nature. Indiana had previously indulged in magnificent schemes, embracing 840 miles of canals, which, with railways and other roads, were expected to cost twenty millions; but these projects are yet in the womb of a distant futurity. Ohio had undertaken to extend the Miami Canal to that from the Wabash at Defiance; and, in 1838, had carried thirty miles from Dayton, making the whole length ninety-five. The estimate was 2,970,000 dollars; but, in 1841, 1,047,000 were wanted to complete the work, which shares at present the general suspension.*

Pennsylvania had been left thus somewhat behind, but at length roused herself into full activity, and made efforts even to surpass her precursors. In 1825, a convention was held at Harrisburg, for considering generally the subject of internal improvement. The grand object was to open a communication with the western territory, by uniting the Delaware with the Ohio. Peculiar difficulty arose from the interposition of a high ridge of the Alleghany, which could by no means be avoided. The railroad system, however, having now been introduced, was brought in aid of the water communication. The canal commenced at Columbia, on the Susquehanna, and was thence carried to Hollidaysburg, at the eastern base of the Alleghany, 173 miles. The line was then continued by a railroad over the mountains, terminating on the western side at Johnstown, when the canal was resumed, and carried 105 miles to Pittsburg. The communication from Philadelphia to the commencement of water conveyance at Columbia, had been formed by a railroad eighty-two miles long. Thus the whole line from that city to Pittsburg extended 396 miles, of which 278 were by canal, and 118 by railroad. The entire cost of the

* Pitkin, pp. 545, &c., 561. American Almanac, 1836, p. 244; 1837, pp. 216, 217, 264; 1839, p. 194; 1840, p. 264; 1841, pp. 194, 233, 238; 1843, p. 264. Hunt's Magazine, No. xx. p. 197. Tanner's Mississippi Valley, p. 145.

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first was 8,137,000 dollars, of the last 5,766,000; in all 13,903,000. It had been contemplated, after making a navigation of twenty-eight miles down the Ohio to Beaver, to carry it on to the town of Erie; but this has been accomplished only twenty-five miles to Newcastle. Another branch from the great line is formed by ascending the Alleghany to Franklin, whence a cut has been made to Lake Conneaut; but in no direction has the line yet reached Lake Erie. Another important undertaking has been the Susquehanna navigation, divided into three parts, one along the united stream, the other two on the east and west branches. These form 184 miles, which cost 4,068,000 dollars. The addition of sixty miles along the Delaware from Bristol to Easton, makes altogether 592 miles of canal navigation, costing 13,580,000 dollars. The tolls in 1839 were only 542,886, from which too the expense of repairs must be deducted. As Pennsylvania has already, in these and other improvements, contracted a debt of upwards of twenty-two millions, of which she is paying neither principal nor interest, her career is for the present suspended.

Private enterprise has also been very active in this state. A canal was undertaken in 1816, along the Schuylkill from Philadelphia to Reading, a distance of 108 miles; and the Union, by a line of eighty miles, with 24 of feeders, has connected it with the Susquehanna at Middleton. The two have cost four millions and a half. This line communicates by several others with the Lehigh and other great coal-fields, making an entire navigation of 312 miles. Being employed for the conveyance of an article of prime necessity, they are said to be remunerating.*

The great example of New York acted powerfully on the people of other states, impelling them indeed to efforts beyond their strength. The enterprising merchants of Baltimore entered boldly on this career, fore-

* Pitkin, p. 549-551. American Almanac, 1837, p. 230. Hunt, No. xxiv. p. 567.

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seeing that otherwise the great operations of the more northern states would carry away all the commerce of the west. The Potomac was navigable up to George Town, near Washington; but the route thence to Pittsburg, 341 miles, extended partly over the Alleghany. The lockage required was 3215 feet; and at the summit level a tunnel of four miles would be necessary. Undeterred by these obstacles, the company undertook one of greater dimensions than that of New York, being from sixty to seventy feet wide, and six to seven feet deep. The cost was estimated at the enormous amount of 22,375,000 dollars. They began the work with spirit; but their subscribed capital, amounting only to 3,608,000 dollars, was exhausted before they had even reached the coal and iron region on the Upper Potomac. They then contracted their views, and by exchanging the part of the canal crossing the mountains for a railway, reduced the estimate to 9,347,000. There appeared, however, no means of raising this sum, unless by aid from congress, to which application was accordingly made. In order, however, to estimate, for this and other undertakings, the chances of success in that quarter, we must take a view of certain movements which agitated the central government.

As soon as internal improvement became an object of general interest, congress was regarded as a quarter whence support might be looked for. That body shared the general ardour, and was not disinclined to exercise a power so influential. The American executive, however, as already observed, assumes functions which in this country are merely nominal. The democratic presidents considered this prerogative as one which the constitution did not bestow on the central government. The opinion was announced by Monroe, in his first address, on the 2d December 1817; and in May 1822, being presented with an "act for the preservation and repair of the Cumberland road," he applied to it his veto. He seems to intimate his opinion, that congress might make appropriations in aid of such improvements, but could not assume their direction and management, with-

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out encroaching on state sovereignty. He was succeeded, however, in 1825, by Quincy Adams, who, attached to the opposite or federal party, regarded with peculiar favour this interest, which he terms "transcendently important." He remarked that, twenty years before the first national road had been commenced, the authority for it had passed unquestioned, and the greatest benefits had thence been derived. All constitutional objections, he hoped, would ultimately be removed, and every speculative scruple be solved by a practical public blessing. These views obtained the concurrence of congress; and during his administration numerous surveys were made in different parts of the Union, and sums granted in aid of roads, canals, and other improvements undertaken by particular states. In these objects an annual amount of three or four millions of dollars was for some time expended.

In 1829, Jackson succeeded, and introduced a system in this, as in every other respect, diametrically opposed to that of his predecessor. In his first annual address, and more decidedly in May 1830, when a bill authorizing subscription to the Maysville Road Company was presented to him, he fully explained his views. The improvements undertaken by the central government ought, in his opinion, to be only those of a general nature, affecting the whole Union, not local, and within the sphere of particular states. The latter appeared to him such as the constitution did not, and ought not, to permit. There was no clause which could be so applied without a strained interpretation, which no sound democratic statesman could admit. The power, too, he thought, would have involved the general government in complex and intricate transactions, when the main object was to make its operations as simple as possible. Jealousies and contests between the different states would have arisen, and candidates for popular favour would have found a ready but by no means eligible mode of courting it by efforts to obtain the largest share of these advantages. Such expenses were likely to be incurred in a more reckless man-

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ner by a great general government, than by individuals or smaller associations. He objected particularly to congress subscribing to stocks of private and state companies, thus mixing up its concerns with theirs. Should there arise any surplus revenue applicable to such objects, the proper course would be to make a general distribution among the states; but even this ought to be delayed until the national debt were entirely cleared off. These sentiments, enforced by a peremptory veto on a great work of this nature, by a president whose determination of character was well known, became an authoritative expression of the constitution, which few or no attempts have since been made to disturb. Thus the companies or states which had engaged in undertakings beyond their strength, saw their hopes of support from this powerful quarter entirely cut off.

The Baltimore Canal Company, which had already received from congress a subscription of a million of dollars, was particularly struck by this exclusion from further hope. The state, however, made great exertions to come to its relief. In May 1836, it passed an act granting on certain conditions three millions, expected to complete the canal to Cumberland, where it would come in contact with the great coal-field. The crisis, however, soon followed, when high commercial and financial prosperity was exchanged for a state of extreme embarrassment, and Maryland became involved in peculiar difficulties. On 31st May 1839, the work had been completed for only 136 miles, which had cost 8,591,000 dollars, and the three millions were still considered necessary to carry it to Cumberland. On this line there had been fifty-three locks and seven aqueducts.*

New Jersey contains two important canals, both executed by private companies. The main object of connecting the Hudson with the Delaware has been effected by the Morris Canal, reaching from Jersey city on the

* Pitkin, p. 557. American Almanac, 1833, p. 197; 1837, p. 234; 1840, p. 238. Presidents' Messages, pp. 216, 293, 299, 336, 363, 373.

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former, opposite New York, to Easton, on the latter, where it comes in contact with the Lehigh and other great coal-districts. It was begun in 1825, and finished in 1836; the length 101 miles; the cost variously stated by good authorities at from 2,000,000 dollars to 4,100,000; the probable amount about 3,000,000. The Delaware and Raritan, from Bordentown to New Brunswick, connects the former river with the Atlantic, enabling vessels to enter it without taking the circuitous route by the great bay. It was therefore made a sloop canal, seventy-five feet wide and seven deep, extending forty-three miles, and being begun in 1831, was finished in 1834, at a cost of 2,500,000 dollars. In the small state of Delaware, also, there is a similar one, sixty-six feet broad and ten deep, connecting the head of that great bay with that of Chesapeake, and thus avoiding an immense circuit. It was completed in 1829, and the expense, jointly defrayed by the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, aided by congress, amounted to 2,200,000 dollars.

The state of Virginia, though not in general deeply embarked in commercial enterprise, showed an early interest in the present object. In 1816, the assembly established a "fund for internal improvement," to consist of all the stocks belonging to the state, together with farther sums to be granted. They were to be employed chiefly in aiding individual enterprise; and no subscription was to be given to any public work, until at least three-fifths of the estimate should be subscribed, and one-fourth paid. The sum, in 1833, amounted to 2,415,000 dollars; in 1840, it is stated at 8,018,000, property in stocks and funds, but burdened with a debt of 6,162,000. Through this means the navigation of many rivers, particularly the James, has been improved; and the Dismal Swamp Canal, reaching into Carolina, has been formed. In 1835, a vast scheme was planned by the James River and Kenhawa Company, to connect those rivers by canals and railways with the Ohio. The estimate was five millions of dollars, of which the state

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undertook to contribute two. Mr Tanner's list exhibits it as carried 175 miles, from Richmond to Buchanan; but we doubt if this be actually completed.

The more southern states were later in catching the spirit of improvement, and the railway had then become the favourite system. In North Carolina, the navigation of the Roanoke has been greatly improved. In the neighbouring state, Charleston has been connected with the Santee by a cut of twenty-two miles, costing 650,000 dollars. Georgia has formed one of sixteen miles, from Savannah to the Ogeechee, costing 165,000 dollars. Near New Orleans several detached lines have been formed, connecting that city with Pontchartrain, Atchafalaya Bay, and other points.

The New Englanders could not want commercial enterprise; but it had turned chiefly in a maritime direction, and their territory afforded no deep pervading rivers by which they could open intercourse with the west. The Middlesex Canal, completed in 1808, connects Boston harbour with the Merrimac, near Lowell, and through that river opens a communication with the interior of New Hampshire. It is twenty-seven miles long, and cost 528,000 dollars. The Blackstone, extending forty-five miles from Worcester to Providence, in Rhode Island, was executed for 600,000. The Hampshire and Hampden is in connexion with the Farmington, in Connecticut; and the two united reach from Newhaven in that state, up to Northampton, a distance of seventy-six miles. Maine has the Cumberland and Oxford, reaching from Portland into the interior, twenty and a half miles, forming a navigation of fifty, for the conveyance of lumber. It cost 250,000 dollars.*

The Railway system, an improvement which so strikingly characterizes the present age, did not originate in America. It had for some time been employed on a small scale to convey the products of coal and other

* Pitkin, p. 556-559. Almanac, 1836, p. 211; 1837, pp. 194, 207, 223-231, 238, 242.

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mines; but England was the first country where it was brought into action as a grand means of transportation both for passengers and goods. The completion of the railway between Liverpool and Manchester attracted the notice of the world, and kindled a wide-spread enthusiasm. America entered with ardour into the career, and almost appropriated it to herself by the extent to which she rapidly advanced it. Some of the gigantic projects, indeed, by which she has astonished mankind exist at present, and are likely long to remain, only in the shape of charters and surveys. Still the works actually completed surpass in extent those of any other nation.

The railways of England have been found mainly beneficial for the conveyance of passengers. Most of them have nearly parallel lines of canal, which convey goods so much cheaper as to compensate for the longer time employed. In America, they have been found equally valuable for both purposes. There is commonly no competing canal; and in some, the two modes of conveyance are employed for different parts of the same line. The people contrive, besides, to construct them much cheaper, by avoiding that enormous expenditure which has limited their use, and proved hurtful to so many companies in Britain. The land is generally inferior in value, and has often been freely granted by congress. The rails are laid, not as with us upon blocks of stone, but upon wooden sleepers, the material of which is every where cheap and abundant; and there is no labour of hewing and polishing. The motion over them is even found to be more smooth and agreeable. It was not expected that they would prove so durable; yet the late experience in respect to wooden pavement may make this conclusion somewhat doubtful. In cases of thinly inhabited tracts, a single rail is often reckoned sufficient.* Hence this mode of conveyance, as soon as introduced, almost superseded that of canals. It was particularly suited to the enterprising spirit which im-

* Hunt's Magazine, No. xvi. pp. 284, 285. Stevenson, p. 252-254.

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pels the Americans to pass rapidly over those immense spaces which separate different parts of their territory ; and possesses even political advantages, by enabling members from remote quarters to attend congress without serious loss of time.

New England, which had been left behind in regard to canals, and thus thrown somewhat into the background, was the first to take advantage of this new form of improvement. The earliest railway constructed in America was from Boston to Quincy, for the transport of its valuable granite. It was completed in 1837 ; but the distance was only three miles. The primary object was then to communicate with Lowell, the great seat of manufacture. A company for this purpose was incorporated in June 1830, and the railway was opened in June 1835, being twenty-six miles in length, and costing 1,505,000 dollars. The passengers in 1839 were 135,037 ; the goods, 105,296 tons ; and a dividend of 8 per cent. was paid. It has been continued to Nashua, in New Hampshire. In the same direction, the Eastern Railroad, from Boston to Portsmouth, was projected in 1836, and is now nearly completed.

The next object was to open a line from Boston through the best cultivated part of New England, to the flourishing town of Worcester, forty-four miles distant. It was begun in 1831, and completed in 1835, at an expense of 1,577,000 dollars. This was followed up by another due south to Norwich, in Connecticut, near the mouth of the Thames, where steamers were ready to convey the passengers to New York. A line of forty-one miles, commenced in 1831 and finished in 1835, leads from Boston to Providence, in Rhode Island, and thence to Stonington, where there is another steam-conveyance to New York ; and there is expected soon to be one by railway through Long Island.

A still grander scheme was formed in 1833, and commenced in 1836. The line already described as running westward from Boston to Worcester, was to be continued in that direction to the frontier of New York, where,

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uniting with the railway system of that state, it would open a communication with Lake Erie and those remote regions in the west whence New England had seemed to be altogether excluded. For this object three millions were subscribed; the work was begun in 1836, and is now completed.

The New England railways have been executed by incorporated companies, except the last, where a million of the stock was taken by government. Those finished have paid from six to eight per cent. The passengers in 1839 were 749,751; the goods, 363,704 tons. The fares are mostly about a dollar for twenty miles, three dollars being charged for 2000 lbs. of merchandise. The legislature has made a regulation, that when the profits exceed ten per cent., these rates shall be lowered.*

The people of New York, who had allowed the New Englanders to get somewhat in advance, quickly followed, and even sought to surpass them; and between 1831 and 1834, companies were incorporated, whose capital amounted to 34,655,000 dollars. The main object was to carry a line westward to Lake Erie; for though the canal conveyed goods, it afforded an exceedingly tedious mode of travelling. The first step was to form a railway of sixteen miles, from Albany to Schenectady, which had also the advantage of obviating a circuit in the navigation of the Mohawk and Hudson. A diverging line of twenty-one miles led to the fashionable baths of Saratoga. The main course was continued by one of seventy-seven miles, from Schenectady to Utica, completed in 1836. Thence it has been carried to Syracuse, by a line of fifty-four miles, which has been found very productive; then on to Auburn, twenty-six miles. Passing to Rochester, we find the Tonawanda, thirty-two miles long, connecting it with Attica. There remained the lines between Rochester and Auburn, eighty miles, and from Attica to Buffalo, thirty miles, which were in

* Hunt, No. xvi. p. 276. American Almanac, 1837, pp. 204, 219; 1838, p. 202; 1841, p. 290.

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progress in 1840, but a portion still remains incomplete. There is thus formed by these connecting lines a nearly continuous railway between Albany and Lake Erie. Again, one from Greenbush, opposite to Albany, extends eastward to meet the Western New England one, already described as forming a communication from Boston to Lake Erie; while one of twenty-three miles has been made from Buffalo to Niagara, for the accommodation of the numerous visiters to the falls. There are several smaller detached lines.

A much greater work has been contemplated, and even commenced, destined to reach from New York along the eastern bank of the Hudson to Greenbush opposite Albany, a distance of 147 miles. Considering the expeditious and excellent steam-navigation, this line would seem in some measure superfluous. It is however anxiously contemplated by the citizens of New York, who are eager to share in the advantage which Boston derives from her finished communication with Albany. A still vaster design is that of one reaching direct from New York, along the southern frontier of the state, to meet Lake Erie at Dunkirk or Portland, a distance of 505 miles. The original estimate was ten millions of dollars; and though attempts have been made to show that it could be executed for 4,300,000, this result seems very doubtful. Besides, the speculation appears much beyond the present commercial resources of the state, especially where such excellent communications on the same line already exist.

The cost of the New York railways has, on the whole, been moderate, varying from 24,380 to 4349 dollars per mile; those, however, at or near the latter rate being graded only for a single track. Eight of the principal lines, extending 320½ miles, were executed at an expense of 5,628,422 dollars, being about £4000 sterling per mile; obviously a mere trifle compared to the immense sums expended on those of Britain.*

* Hunt, No. xvi. p. 280; No. xxiv. p. 567. American Almanac, 1837, p. 219.

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Pennsylvania soon engaged in this pursuit, and having done so while her great western canal was planning, made it auxiliary to that undertaking. The enormous lockage which the latter would have required to overcome the rugged heights of the Alleghany, was avoided by a portage railroad, which seems justly boasted of as a most extraordinary work. The height surmounted is 2570 feet; a tunnel of 900 feet has been cut through the solid rock; there are on each side of the mountain five stationary steam-engines, and as many inclined planes, the ropes used on which would reach eleven miles, and cost 20,000 dollars. The length is 36 miles; the expense 1,783,000 dollars. The first part of the line, from Philadelphia to Columbia, on the Susquehanna, has, without seemingly any such urgent motive, been formed of railway. It extends eighty-two miles, and cost 3,983,000 dollars. These are both state-undertakings, and the receipts, in 1839, for tolls and locomotive power, amounted to 599,700 dollars. A number have also been executed by private companies, mostly in the coal-districts; one line, branching from the Columbia state road, is carried westward to Harrisburg, and thence to Chambersburg, whence it is proposed to carry it over the Alleghany. A branch is conducted southward to Williamsport, on the Potomac. An important line, very recently completed, leads from Philadelphia to Port Deposit, where it connects with Baltimore, and through it with Washington.

New Jersey has contributed a valuable line, called the Camden and Amboy, leading from New York to Philadelphia, the Hudson and Delaware being crossed by steamers. It is sixty-one miles long, and cost 1,500,000 dollars. In 1839, the passengers were 181,479; the merchandise 13,520 tons; gross receipts, 635,329 dollars; expenditure, 258,043; net profit, 427,286. Useful roads have also been formed from Jersey city (opposite New York) to New Brunswick, 31, and to Paterson, 16½ miles.*

* Pitkin, p. 568. Hunt, No. xvi. p. 281; xxiv. p. 587. American Almanac, 1837, p. 221; 1838, p. 211; 1841, p. 199.

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Maryland has displayed an ardour in the cause of improvement even surpassing that of the other states, and unfortunately with still less of a due estimate of her own resources. We have seen her, in 1824, engage in the vast scheme of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal. This was followed, in 1827, by that of a railway in the same direction, which, by a line of 360 miles, might reach from Baltimore to the Ohio. There has been no stronger instance, perhaps, of the evil effects of excessive speculation. Had the funds, divided between these two mighty undertakings, been applied exclusively to either, they would have brought it, at least, into an efficient and productive state, of which now both have fallen short. The railway, in 1834, was carried eighty miles to Harper's Ferry, at a cost of 3,106,000 dollars. Then, all the private funds being exhausted, and congress shut against applications, the state came forward with a promise of 3,000,000 for this as well as for the other undertaking; but, in both cases, has been unable to fulfil her engagement, and their completion is thus postponed to an indefinite period. In 1835, the income of this railway amounted to 263,368 dollars; 93,540 being for passengers, and 169,827 for goods. At nine miles from Baltimore, an important branch of thirty-one miles has been carried to Washington; another, higher up, to Winchester in Virginia. Lines have also been run from Baltimore to the Susquehanna; one of fifty-six miles to York, where it can be connected with the great Pennsylvanian canal; the other, of thirty-four and a half, to Port Deposit.

Virginia is not without solid and useful works of this nature. One, of thirteen and a half miles, from Richmond to the coal mines in Chesterfield county, was completed in 1831, and has been very productive. Another, of sixty miles, from Petersburg to Weldon, on the Roanoke, connects that river with the James; and a third, of seventy-seven, has been formed from Weldon to Portsmouth. That joining Winchester with the Baltimore railway has already been mentioned.

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The southern states have distinguished themselves by extensive works of this description. North Carolina has one of 161 miles, reaching from Wilmington, deeply inland, to Raleigh; while another, of 85 miles, thence to Gaston, on the Roanoke, connects the whole of this line with the Petersburg. South Carolina, even in 1833, had completed an important line of 136 miles, from Charleston to Hamburg, on the Savannah, opposite Augusta. It was at that time the longest in any part of the world, and had cost 1,336,000 dollars. The income for the half-year ending July 1843 is stated at 215,982 dollars, the expenses being 123,256, leaving a net revenue of 92,725. It includes now a branch to Columbia. Charleston has also formed other mighty projects; as, a line to Cincinnati, of 607 miles; one to Memphis, in Tennessee, 740; but these towering schemes remain for the present in *nubibus*.

Georgia has been peculiarly active in this line of improvement, and maintained it even amid the storm of disaster which blighted it in all the more northerly states. She began by taking up the Charleston line at Augusta, and carrying it north-west 114 miles to Athens, whence it was intended to prolong it towards the Tennessee. It appears, however, that part of this has been taken to form the Georgia Railroad, which has been carried on to Greensborough and Madison, and is thence in progress westward. Meantime, a more southern line, called the *Central*, has been undertaken from Savannah to Macon, and is continuing thence, under the title of the *Monroe*. In 1837, the legislature projected one, called the Western Atlantic, to begin at De Kalb county, near the Chattahoochee, and to go on about 120 miles to a point called Ross's Landing, on the Tennessee. It will be observed, that the eastern terminus here is a good deal beyond any point reached by the other two great lines, which the private companies have been left to bring up thither. When all these works are completed, there will be a railway communication of 432 miles westward from Savannah, and 460 from Charleston. Mr Tanner has

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even included them in his condensed view, but prematurely; however, according to the American Almanac for 1844, the Central was completed and in operation, extending 190 miles. The receipts for the year to 1st April 1843, when it was finished for only 148 miles, had been 248,026 dollars; expenses 109,819; net revenue 138,207. The passengers were 19,075, and the cotton transported 63,276 bales. The Monroe, extending 101 miles, was nearly completed. The Western and Atlantic was in operation for 52 miles. The Central was estimated to cost 3,000,000 dollars, chiefly owned by citizens of Savannah, and in very small sums.*

The western states have railways, but on a smaller scale, and mostly in a speculative condition. Alabama has completed one from Columbia to Decatur, forty-six miles, and contemplates several longer ones, to connect with those of Georgia. The chief are from Pensacola to Montgomery, 156; thence to West Point, 87. Of the last, about 15 miles are completed. Louisiana has formed several small ones, from New Orleans to adjacent points, and has made surveys for an immense line from that city to Nashville, 568 miles. Mississippi, under present circumstances, cannot be expected to do much. Tennessee, in 1836, undertook a road of 98 miles, to connect its capital, Knoxville, with the Western Atlantic of Georgia; also several others, estimated in all to cost 2,576,000 dollars, of which the state was to subscribe half; but we doubt if much progress has been made. Kentucky has wholly or nearly completed an important line of 92 miles, from Louisville to Lexington. Ohio had spent her strength chiefly in canals. In 1837, vast railway projects were agitated; but Mr Tanner, in 1841, reports only 76 miles in two lines to Sandusky. Those of Indiana, and Illinois also, though extensive in charters and surveys, are very limited in real existence. Michigan, in 1837, authorized the construction of 557 miles;

* Pitkin, pp. 571, 572. American Almanac, 1837, p. 244; 1841, pp. 211, 220; 1844, p. 261.

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of these, in 1832, she had completed 80 miles, from Detroit to Jackson; about 60 in other directions; and a private company one of 25 miles, from Detroit to Pontiac. A continuation of the first 34 miles to St Joseph was contracted for in 1843.

According to a summary given in the American Almanac for 1841, from Mr Tanner, the aggregate length, in the United States, of canals, is 3909 miles; of railways, 5320. The editor, however, observes, what is indeed obvious on examination, that this list includes many that are only in progress, and the completion, in some cases, very distant and uncertain. We incline to think, that, for the work actually done, 3400 miles of canal, and 4300 of railway, would be a very full estimate.

An account has been published of accidents occurring in locomotive cars, mostly between 1834 and 1838; but confessedly very imperfect. The number of casualties ascertained was twenty-four; by which twenty-seven persons were killed and ninety wounded. Six of these were occasioned by running off the track; five by defects in the road; five by collision; two by explosion. The greatest number killed on any one occasion was three; but at one time twenty-three, and at another twenty, were wounded.*

The internal transactions of America could not be duly exhibited without a view of its operations in Banking. This employment, which sprung up in modern times, and mostly in the course of the last century, forms now one of the most prominent features of the commercial system. According as it has been well or ill conducted, the greatest prosperity or the most signal disasters have resulted. In America it has been prosecuted with peculiar ardour, and both its advantages and its evils have been strikingly exemplified. There, too, it has for many years formed a main subject of debate between the contending political parties, and became thus an important hinge of both private and public interests.

* American Almanac, 1840, p. 123.

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The early institutions of Venice, Hamburg, and Amsterdam, were merely banks of deposit, for receiving funds lying unemployed in the hands of the merchants. They also remitted money from one place to another with greater security and at smaller expense than was possible for private individuals. These transactions were productive of unmixed though limited benefit. The next step was to grant discounts, or to advance the amount of bills or other securities before they became due, thus enabling the merchant to command the whole of his capital. This operation is also very beneficial, but requires much discretion, both as to the extent of the accommodation and the character of the persons to whom it is granted. If due precautions are neglected, a strong impulse is given to that spirit of extravagant speculation with which commercial communities are from time to time seized; while in periods of panic, the sudden contraction of credits renders the pressure more severe.

The last operation undertaken by banks, but the most important and critical, is the issuing of promissory notes for small sums, which pass from hand to hand as money, supplying the place of gold and silver. The very great expense of a metallic currency is thus saved, and a capital created, which can be employed in promoting the industry and commerce of the country. Mr Gallatin estimates that the American currency, which may thus be legitimately supplied by paper, amounts to eighty millions of dollars, while twenty kept in the coffers of the banks may be sufficient to meet current demands. Thus sixty millions (£13,500,000) is added to the floating capital of the nation, for which, though not real property, the banks draw interest. This resource, however, unless employed according to strict rules, is liable to fearful abuses, of which America offers abundant examples. The fundamental principle is, that the notes must, as they profess, be convertible on demand into gold and silver. If payment be refused or postponed, the paper is depreciated, a fraud is committed on the holders, and all the monetary concerns of the country are deranged. If

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this course be long persevered in, the notes cease to bear any value whatever. That the banks may fulfil this obligation, they ought to have always in their vaults a large supply of gold and silver to meet their notes when presented; while they should also possess the whole amount in property, not only of solid value, but capable of being in a short interval converted into money.

The grand question which has agitated America is the propriety of a national bank in close connexion with government. This has been not only a commercial but a main political ground of debate, the democratic party denouncing it as unauthorized by the constitution, and as giving undue strength to the mercantile and monied interest, which in America is aristocratic. Yet such an institution, well conducted, is attended with obvious advantages, securely preserving the public money, and transmitting it readily from place to place. Its notes, too, serve to regulate the currency of the local and state banks, and afford a safe medium in which the payments due to government may be received. The grand peril of government banking operations lies in the power it possesses of suspending the payment in specie, which in America has been most recklessly exercised. Even by taking shares, or receiving large loans, it becomes in a manner bound to support a bank in any course which its conduct may render necessary. We should incline to say, that government ought to have no connexion with such an institution unless as an employer; depositing with it the public money, and receiving payments in its notes. Whether for these great advantages it should require a moderate bonus must depend upon circumstances; but assuredly it should insist on frequent and rigid examinations, to ascertain at once the entire solvency of the establishment, and the manner in which its affairs are conducted.

The first congress, as already observed, assumed and abused to the utmost possible extent the power of issuing a paper currency. By the end of 1779, the

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amount emitted was 200 millions of dollars, without any provision for its redemption. It ceased, therefore, to bear almost any value; and the Union became completely insolvent. In 1781, however, Mr Morris, superintendant of finance, established a national bank, though on a small scale, with a capital of only 400,000 dollars; but being extremely well managed, it afforded some sensible relief in that period of great financial distress. One was also formed in New York, and another in Boston; and these three, with a capital altogether of 2,000,000 dollars, were all that existed in 1790, when the general government came into operation.

Mr Hamilton, amid his plans for financial improvement, gave a leading place to that of a national bank. We have seen the opposition encountered by it both in congress and in the cabinet; but it was finally carried through and chartered to 4th March 1811, with a capital of ten millions. It was considered as operating very advantageously; an annual dividend of 8½ per cent. was paid; the shares rose to 25, and ultimately to 45 per cent. premium.

In 1808, as the term of its charter approached, the bank petitioned both houses of congress for its renewal. Mr Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, reported in its favour, that its affairs had been "wisely and skilfully managed," and recommended a fresh charter for twenty years, with its capital increased to 30,000,000 dollars. He suggested that it should be required either to pay to government a bonus of 1,250,000 dollars, or to allow interest on all deposits above a certain amount, and make loans, when required, at six per cent., to an amount not exceeding three-fifths of its capital. Congress rose immediately after the presentation of this report; and when it resumed its sittings in 1810, there appeared a confused fermentation of opinions, and an unwillingness either to grant or refuse the request. Committee after committee was appointed; and in the beginning of 1811, when something required to be done, indecision still prevailed. In the senate the votes were seventeen to seventeen;

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when Mr Clinton, the vice-president, gave his casting voice against the institution. The representatives, by sixty-five to sixty-four, resolved to postpone the consideration of the measure; but as the charter had expired, this vote terminated the existence of the bank. On the 4th March, its concerns were closed, but its sound state was proved by the payment to the stockholders of 108½ for every 100 dollars of the stock.

This was a critical circumstance for the government, which, having in 1812 involved itself in war with Great Britain, stood in need of ample pecuniary accommodations. It was thrown entirely upon the state banks, which had indeed greatly increased in number, possessing now a capital of above forty-two millions, and supposed to have had great influence in causing the overthrow of the central institution. On its rivalry being withdrawn, they were nearly doubled, and government was obliged to accept large loans, which placed it entirely under their power. Of this, in 1814, all those south of New England availed themselves to discontinue payments in specie. A great fall in the value of their notes immediately followed; and the treasury sustained enormous loss in being obliged to receive in this depreciated currency the duties collected, as well as the new loans that became necessary, on which besides a very heavy discount was exacted. A complete confusion ensued in all money and mercantile transactions, the more severely felt from the reduction varying so much in different places, being in New York and Charleston from seven to twenty per cent., Philadelphia seventeen, Washington and Baltimore twenty; and in the interior still greater.

A deep impression was now felt of the necessity of a national bank, and there arose even a disposition to assign to it functions and privileges of the most questionable magnitude. According to a bill proposed in September 1814 by Mr Dallas, secretary to the treasury, the capital was to consist of fifty millions, twenty to be subscribed by the United States in their own stock; while the bank should be bound to lend to it the other thirty. The president

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might, whenever he judged necessary, absolve it from the obligation of paying its notes in specie. This most preposterous scheme was powerfully exposed by Mr Webster, who said: "The capital is government debts; the amount of its issues will depend on government necessities; government in effect absolves itself from its own debts to the bank, and by way of compensation absolves the bank from its own contracts with others. This indeed is a wonderful scheme of finance. The government is to grow rich, because it is to borrow without obligation of repaying; and is to borrow of a bank which issues paper without liability to redeem it.—The empty vaults of the treasury are to be filled from the equally empty vaults of the bank; and the ingenious invention of a partnership of insolvents is to restore and re-establish the credit of both." Yet the bill was lost only by the vote of the speaker. Another was then brought in freed from the most exceptionable clauses, yet was negatived by Mr Madison. At length, early in 1816, an act was passed, constituting one to continue till the 3d March 1836. Its capital was to be thirty-five millions, seven subscribed by government in its five per cent. stock, the rest by the public, who were to pay seven in gold, and twenty-one in the funded debt. The deposits of public money were to be made in the bank, and its notes to be receivable in payments to government. It was to give a bonus of 1,500,000 dollars; but the clauses about compulsory loans and exemption from specie payments were expunged; and congress might at any time order an inspection into its proceedings. Thus, had it not been for its too close connexion with government, and the want of periodical examination, it would have been established on tolerably sound principles.

The bank experienced at first great difficulties from the deranged state of the currency, and some profligate speculations which appear to have been connected with the mixing up of its funds with those of government. A change, however, being made in the direction and presidency, its losses were repaired, and the management

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obtained a high degree of public approbation. By temporary advances it supported and on one occasion saved the credit of the government; through twenty-five branches, it regulated the local currencies, and readily effected remittances; and it was also useful in transacting foreign exchanges. By a report to congress in 1833, it was stated to have nine millions in specie, and a surplus of forty-three millions. Its adversaries indeed alleged, not seemingly without some reason, that too large a proportion of its funds had been invested in permanent property, as houses, manufactories, and agricultural improvements in the western states, the returns for which would certainly be distant, and have proved very precarious. Mr Gallatin, however, conceived, that in 1829, the currency was as sound as could be expected under any system in which paper was substituted for the precious metals.*

On these grounds a considerable majority in congress were disposed to renew the charter, under such modifications as experience might have suggested. Jackson, however, who had been recently elected president in the democratic interest, opposed the measure alone, but with the utmost determination. His views led him to limit the central authority; and the present, like other commercial and monied bodies, bearing an aristocratic character, excited his peculiar jealousy. Even in his first annual message, he intimated that its constitutionality and expediency were much questioned, and suggested another institution, founded on the security of government and its revenues. This declaration was the signal of deadly war between him and the bank. That establishment, seeing its existence threatened, is alleged to have employed its funds and its influence in efforts at once to defend itself, and to shake his authority. In his second message of 7th December 1830, he again renewed the proposal of a bank, which should be a branch of the treasury, without liberty to issue notes, make loans, or purchase property.

* Pitkin, p. 418-446. Moulton, . 32-88. Gallatin, p. 30.

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On the 9th January 1832, however, a petition being presented to congress for a new charter to the existing institution, was referred to a select committee, which, on the 13th March, reported in its favour, recommending only some limitations to the power of issuing notes and holding real property, also the payment of a bonus of 1,500,000 dollars. After long debates and various amendments, a bill for this purpose was carried in the senate by 28 to 20, and in the representatives by 105; but being on the 10th July presented to the president, it was met by an absolute veto, which, not being opposed by two-thirds of the house, decided the fate of the bank.

Jackson, being re-elected president in the beginning of 1833, might be considered as having received the sanction of the people to this course, in which, therefore, he firmly persevered. In his fourth message, he had intimated an inquiry by the secretary of the treasury, whether the public money deposited in that institution could be considered entirely safe; and he invited congress to institute a similar investigation. That body followed the advice, and published a voluminous report, which concluded with the unwelcome resolution, "that the government deposits might safely be continued in the bank of the United States." The president, however, professed to have learned, by a report of the government directors, that the money of the institution had been employed to influence the elections of public officers; that it had been converted into "a permanent electioneering engine," and "had its candidates for all offices in the country, from the highest to the lowest." He therefore ordered the secretary to the treasury to draw out the deposits, and place them in certain of the state banks. That officer alone had this power; and on exercising it, was required immediately to intimate both the proceeding and its motives to congress, which was not then sitting. He refused to take such a step; upon which Jackson dismissed him, and named another, who obeyed his orders. When congress met in March 1833, and received a report of the proceeding, with its motives,

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the senate declared the latter wholly insufficient, and passed a resolution, by twenty-six to twenty, that the president had thereby assumed an authority "not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." Jackson replied in a long and indignant protest, complaining that he had been condemned unheard, and that they had no right to pass censure on his conduct in any other shape but that of impeachment. He warmly defended his own course, and quoted resolutions in approbation of it by the legislatures of Maine, New Jersey, and Ohio.

He continued to press onward in the same career. He had hitherto declared in favour of some kind of national bank; but, in his message of 2d December 1835, he intimated, that the state banks had so completely fulfilled every purpose for which a central one could be required, as to render such an institution at once useless and inexpedient. He began also to show a general antipathy to the banking interest and to paper money, declaring that the suppression of all notes under twenty dollars would be an era hailed with delight by every friend to his country's independence. Following up this view, he soon after announced, that nothing but specie would be received in payment for the public lands. He urged the excessive speculations of which they had been the object, and the irregular mode of merely giving credits on banks, whose power of payment was doubtful. This arrangement, however, as Mr Gallatin observes, rendered necessary the transmission of large amounts to Michigan and other western states, where it was not wanted for circulation, and was thus immediately returned; a double transmission, attended with great cost and inconvenience. Thus, too, specie became extremely scarce in the eastern commercial cities, where it was urgently wanted to avert a tremendous crisis now impending. Before explaining it, however, we must look back to some other causes by which it was prepared.*

* Presidents' Messages, pp. 371, 405, 418, 507, 576, 595. Pitkin, p. 446-489. Moulton, p. 104, &c. Gallatin, p. 31.

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In modern communities, where trade is free, and great commercial activity prevails, these advantages have been alloyed by a spirit of overtrading and excessive speculation. Ever since the memorable examples of the Mississippi and South Sea schemes, this tendency has recurred at intervals. The joint-stock mania of 1826 is well remembered in this country, nor have similar instances been since wanting. Such a period is always succeeded by one of extreme distress; numerous bankruptcies, and a general feeling of alarm and despondence. In America, where nothing is yet fixed or stable, but all as it were in a regular course of change and progress, the speculative spirit operates still more powerfully, and almost unchecked. In 1836, having been increasing for several years, it had mounted almost to a pitch of phrensy. Every mode by which credit could be procured was strained beyond all reasonable bounds. The imports from foreign countries in the years—

1822-1830, averaged	59 millions.
1831-1833, ...	83 ...
1834-1837, ...	130 ...
1836 alone, ...	168 ...

The excess of imports over exports amounted, in the first nine years, to only four millions; in the three next, to eighteen; in the four following, to thirty-four; and in 1836 alone, to sixty-one. A most extensive debt was thus contracted to foreign nations, particularly to Britain. The purchases of public lands, chiefly by speculators, with a view to sell over again, were no less extravagant. In the first nine years they had not averaged above 1,300,000 dollars; in 1836 alone, they reached twenty-five millions. Internal improvements were commenced on a scale utterly beyond the funds or probable profits. Town-lots, mines, and other projects were equally carried to excess.

To aid in these vast schemes, an extension of bank credits was urgently solicited. Between 1830 and 1837, three hundred new institutions were created, with a capital of 145 millions. The anticipated discontinuance of the na-

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tional body was supposed to create a necessity for others in its place; but these were supplied to an extent much beyond the void left by that bank, which, after all, was itself continued under a different form. Hence the aggregate capitals of the state institutions, which, on the 1st January 1830, amounted to 145 millions, had, at the same date in 1837, reached 290; while the circulation had risen from 61 to 149. A peculiarly sinister element contributed to this augmentation. The western governments conceived the idea of themselves forming banks, partly with a view to the enlargement of their credit, and partly to the profits of the management. Destitute of the necessary capital, they had recourse to the false system of raising it by loan. The states north of Tennessee, indeed, incurred for this purpose debts only of 6,500,000 dollars; but those in the south contracted no less than forty-four millions. Amid the eager competition among the planters, who composed the legislatures, for the means of extending culture and purchasing slaves, we may easily conceive the abuses consequent on these proceedings.

The whole economical system of the Union was thus in a false and inflated state, which could not fail to be followed by a severe collapse. Yet, perhaps, it might have readjusted itself gradually, and with less serious disaster, had not a crisis been hurried on by the presidential measures against banks and paper currency. In the winter of 1836-37, the approach of the danger became more and more imminent; and in New York, the chief centre of monetary operations, the banks made extraordinary efforts to avert it. The state legislature had even agreed to afford them some assistance; but on the very day when the bill for this purpose passed, the pressure became so intense, that they adopted a general resolution to suspend specie payments. The legislative body, being about to adjourn, passed an act exempting them, for the space of a year, from the operation of the law by which such a suspension incurred the forfeiture of their charters. The example set by the New York establishments, as

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rapidly as the intelligence of it could be communicated, was instantaneously followed by all the banks throughout the Union.

It is needless to describe the panic thus produced over the whole nation, as well as in Britain, whose commercial interests were closely connected with those of America. The citizens of New York had already stated to the president, that within the last few months their real estate had been depreciated more than forty millions; their local stocks twenty millions; the merchandise in their warehouses thirty per cent. There had been more than 250 extensive failures, and 20,000 individuals had been deprived of their daily bread. "The error of our rulers," said they, "has produced a wider desolation than the pestilence which depopulated our streets, or the conflagration which laid them in ashes." In New Orleans, during two days, failures took place to the extent of twenty-seven millions of dollars.

The Americans, however, made great efforts to extricate themselves from this bankrupt condition. In 1837, their imports were reduced to 141 millions, and in 1838 to 113; and the excess over exports was, in the one year, only thirteen, and in the other five millions. The New York banks made early and vigorous attempts to resume specie payments; and anxious to obtain a general co-operation in this salutary measure, they, in August 1837, sent round circulars to the principal establishments in the other cities, proposing a convention of delegates to adjust the plan. Though difficulties were raised in different quarters, this body met at New York in November. The bankers of that city strongly urged a speedy resumption; but a powerful opposition had arisen in another quarter. The Bank of the United States, after the termination of its general charter, accepted another from the state of Pennsylvania, upon very onerous conditions. These, with its shaken credit, would have dictated the propriety of limiting its discounts and other transactions; but, on the contrary, it sought only to extend them, re-issuing its old paper, and contracting large fo-

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reign loans, especially in England. The directors embarked in speculations on cotton, and in the purchase of various stocks; in short, they are supposed to have aimed at regaining a control over the commerce of the country, and even obliging the general government to restore their charter. These lofty aims were very inconsistent with the cautious economy required for the proposed resumption, which therefore they sought to delay; and the other banks, especially those of the west, were willing to shelter themselves behind this authority. Under these influences, the recommendation was postponed to the 1st of January 1839. The New York banks, however, in May 1838, when the year allowed by the legislature had expired, took alone this important step; and it was effected without the slightest difficulty. The example was soon imitated by those of Boston; and in August, upon the urgent requisition of Governor Ritter, all those in Pennsylvania likewise resumed payment, and were followed generally throughout the Union. The United States Bank continued to speculate beyond its means, being strongly supported by the mercantile and monied interest, which had espoused its cause against the executive. Its credit, however, was artificially sustained, and large drafts upon Europe having been dishonoured, it again, on the 9th October 1839, suspended payments. The same course was immediately pursued in almost all the southern and western states, whose legislatures, as already observed, had themselves engaged in the business of banking. That institution, however, still kept itself afloat, and even obtained considerable loans both in America and England; on the strength of which, in January 1841, it once more resumed payment. Its credit, however, was so far gone, that in the course of three weeks it was obliged to pay 5,630,000 dollars,—a drain which obliged it again to stop; and an investigation being then instituted, proved it to be decidedly insolvent. Its friends urged, that this unfavourable condition had been produced by the unexpected depreciation of the state stocks, in which great part of its

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funds had been invested; but it was urged, on the other side, that these had been speculative and injudicious investments, while charges of misconduct and mismanagement were also advanced against its members.*

The banking regulations in the different states are various, and in general not very judicious. A charter from the legislature is usually required, and in New York, where the system seems to work best, very strict conditions are imposed. The responsibility, indeed, is limited to the subscribed capital, thus exempting the shareholders personally; but the whole must have been paid in specie or current bank-bills. Judicious restrictions are laid on the extent of the issues, loans, and discounts, and not more than a third of the capital can be lent to the directors. The notes must not be for less than a dollar. Holding any real estate, buying or selling any merchandise, is prohibited, unless in circumstances of necessity. Three commissioners, appointed by the governor and legislature, must once at least in four months inspect their books, documents, and all their affairs. If dissatisfied, they report to the chancellor, who may suspend or dismiss any officer, and even restrict or dissolve the bank itself. One peculiarity consists of a safety-fund of three per cent. on the aggregate capital of the banks, from which to make good to the public the deficiencies of those which become insolvent. The fund is raised by an annual tax of one-half per cent. on the capital of each bank for six years, and when reduced by the payment of such debts, is again brought up to three per cent. by a renewal of the annual payments. This mode, however, of making the well-conducted institutions responsible for others which they cannot control, appears to be justly censured.

The subject being much discussed at the period of the suspension, and many reproaches thrown on the chartered institutions, an opinion arose, that free banking,

* Gallatin, p. 34-45. American Almanac, 1838, p. 329; 1839, pp. 108, 309; 1840, p. 145.

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such as has been advantageously practised in Scotland, would be a better system. An act was passed, allowing any association to carry on the business, but still under restrictions nearly the same as in the chartered bodies. The securities for their enforcement, however, were much less stringent. No sufficient provision was made for the paying up of the capital; and instead of the examinations every four months, half-yearly statements were to be sent by the bank itself, and published by the chancellor. On application, however, by creditors and shareholders, that officer might order a strict examination. The spirit of speculation was strongly displayed by the formation in six months of thirty-four new institutions, with a capital of 12,319,000 dollars, capable of being augmented to 487,680,000; some of them for 1000, and one for 4000 years. Mr Gallatin admits that several have been respectable, yet states the striking fact, that in two years and a half the bankruptcies had been more than twenty out of eighty; while in the chartered banks, during ten years, they had been only two out of ninety.

In Massachusetts, a bank with a capital of 500,000 dollars may issue bills to the amount of 625,000 dollars, and may have due to it on discounted paper 1,000,000, also in bills and other obligations, exclusive of deposits, 1,000,000. It is required to pay a state-tax of 5000 dollars, and to make, when required, at thirty days' notice, a loan of 50,000 at the low interest of five per cent. These two last conditions seem justly objected to as very onerous, and mixing up the concerns of the bank too much with those of government.*

* Gallatin, p. 54-82. Hunt, No. xvii. p. 412.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Foreign Commerce.

Agricultural Produce its chief Basis—Cotton—Tobacco—Grain—Animal Food—Timber—Fish—Manufactures—Foreign Goods—Imports—Trade with Britain—France—Other European Countries—British West Indies, &c.—Cuba—South America—East Indies—China—Progressive Extent—Shipbuilding—Tonnage—Navigation—Liners—Steam—Insurance—Ports: New York—Boston—Philadelphia—Baltimore—Charleston—New Orleans.

The main basis of the foreign trade of the United States must, from causes already stated, be the produce of their soil. In 1839, while the total value of the exports was 103 millions of dollars, that of agricultural products amounted to 84 millions, being fully four-fifths. Cotton is by much the most important article, and from its infant state half a century ago, has advanced with gigantic strides, leaving every other far behind it. In 1790, the value exported was 48,285 dollars; in 1800, five millions; in 1810, fifteen millions; in 1820, twenty-two millions; in 1830, thirty millions; in 1840, sixty-four millions (above fourteen millions sterling). In 1839, all the agricultural products being 84,900,000, cotton was 61,200,000. Dr Channing characterizes it as "the great staple on which all the commercial dealings of the country turn. As our merchants and manufacturers cast their eyes southward, what do they see? Cotton, cotton, nothing but cotton. This fills the whole horizon of the south."

By far the largest market for this immense mass of production is Great Britain. To her it affords the material of the greatest manufacture that ever existed, employing above 1,200,000 of her subjects, and supplying

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to all quarters of the world a comfortable clothing at a cheaper rate than any other fabric. Of 1,876,000 bales exported in 1840, there went to Britain 1,246,000. A certain proportion is returned to America herself in a manufactured state. Through this commodity the interests of the two countries are so closely entwined, that a rupture could not take place without a most extensive derangement in the industry of both.

France takes off a quantity much inferior, yet large and always increasing. In 1804, it amounted to six millions of pounds; in 1821, to twenty-seven; in 1830, to above seventy-five; in 1840, to 447,000 bales, which, at the average of 370 lbs. each, would be 165 millions. In 1834, the exports to Russia were 1,260,000 lbs.; to Holland and Belgium, 6,096,000; to the Hanse Towns, 6,612,000; to Spain, 892,000; to Trieste, 3,805,000; to Italy and Malta, 190,000. In 1840, those to the north of Europe are stated at 103,000 bales, being about 38,110,000 lbs.; to Spain and the Mediterranean, 78,000 bales, or about 28,960,000 lbs.

The shipping ports are New Orleans for Louisiana, Mississippi, and all the states on the river of that name; Mobile for Alabama; Savannah for Georgia; and Charleston for Carolina. The following estimate of the charges, exclusive of insurance, of conveying a bale weighing 420 lbs. from the planter's ground in Alabama by way of Mobile to Liverpool, is given in a respectable American publication:—

	Dolls.	Cents.
Paid by planter for wharfage, weighing, draying, and storage	0	55
For factors' commissions	0	80
For freight to city	1	50
Paid by purchaser for brokerage, storage, drayage, and wharfage	0	55½
For commission on purchase	0	80
For freight and primage	6	64½
Paid by vessel for compressing, lighterage, stowage	1	30
Port charges at Liverpool	6	0
	18	15

Or £4 : 1 : 7.

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The following is an estimate from Savannah, made on a different principle :—

Commission for purchasing .	2½ per cent.
..... drawing . .	1½ ...
Insurance over sea	1½ ...
..... against fire	0¼ ...

Rope mending and drayage per bale, 25 cents.
Freight ⅜d. per lb., and 5 per cent. primage.
Duty $\frac{5}{16}$d. per lb., or 2s. 11d. per 100 lbs.
Landing charges, 3s. per bale.
Brokerage in Liverpool, ½ per cent.

The charges to Havre and Marseilles are nearly similar, except that the freight is only one cent. ($\frac{6}{10}$d.) per lb., the landing charges, &c. 2 francs (20d.) per bale, the insurances only 1¼ and 1⅛ per cent. The duty is 22 francs per 50 kilogrammes, or 122 lbs., being 1½d. per lb.*

Tobacco ranks next to cotton, and indeed held the first place till the rise of this mighty rival. Down to the commencement of the revolutionary war, the exports continued increasing. During the ten years ending with 1709, the annual average was nearly 29,000,000 lbs.; between 1744 and 1766, it had risen to 40,000,000. In 1768-1770, it was 67,780,000; but in 1772-1775, had mounted to 99,374,000. The great contest which ensued not only gave a temporary interruption to the trade, but arrested its future advance. The countries of Europe, cut off from the usual supply, made efforts, in some degree successful, to raise it for themselves. Between 1815 and 1835, the amount exported was 82,760 hogsheads. This measure originally contained only 600 lbs.; but through improved package, may now be estimated at 1200, which will give 99,313,000 lbs., coming surprisingly near to the average of the four years 1772-1775. The four last years of the period, however, show a considerable increase, as they average 93,000 hhds., or 111,600,000 lbs. This has been fully supported in the years 1837-1840, which have averaged 399,000 hhds., or 119,700,000 lbs. The

* Hunt's Magazine, No. ix. p. 267; No. xi. p. 431; No. xviii. p. 557. American Almanac, 1837, p. 79.

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average annual value for the last three years has been 9,032,000 dollars (£2,030,000).

This commodity, being still most abundantly produced in Virginia and Maryland, is of course shipped from the ports of those states, mostly from Richmond, Petersburg, Lynchburg, and Baltimore. All the produce of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and other western states, goes by New Orleans. The export thence in 1839-1840, was 28,028 hhds., being, however, little more than half that of Virginia, which amounted to 52,633. The former quantity, indeed, has not increased within the last ten years, having in 1830-1831 been 34,968 hhds. It has fluctuated greatly during that time, from 23,700 to 43,900. Great Britain, which, from motives of revenue, does not permit the culture within her own territory, affords the principal market. In the ten years ended 1840, she took off 282,721 hhds. Holland ranks also high, receiving 205,028. Although the plant is largely cultivated in Germany, yet her Hanse Towns have taken 234,403; but great part is probably forwarded to the north of Europe. France has made extraordinary efforts to promote this culture, which, between 1818 and 1820, rose from eighteen to thirty-two millions of pounds; yet still she has received in the above period 81,012 hhds. The export to all other countries is stated at 164,591. By another authority, these last appear to be in the order of their importance:—Gibraltar, Sweden, Spain, Italy, West Indies generally, Cuba, Portugal, Hayti, Africa, Brazil, Argentine republic, Mexico, Malta, &c. The internal consumption of this article is said to be very extraordinary, amounting, as compared with the population, to three times the quantity in Great Britain. The value is believed considerably to exceed two millions and a half sterling; it has even been asserted, though probably with exaggeration, that in New York more money is spent upon it than upon bread.*

* American Almanac, 1838, p. 120, &c.; 1842, p. 108. Hunt, No. xvii. p. 451, &c.

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From the description of the United States as an agricultural country, the different species of grain, or, as usually termed there, bread stuffs, were likely to be an important object of export. They have accordingly been so from a very early period, and have continued to increase till the beginning of the present century, since which time they have remained nearly stationary. Being destined for distant markets, they are exposed to heavy freights, which could be borne only by compressing much value in small bulk; hence wheat has been the staple, much exceeding all the rest put together. Occupying still too much space in its original shape, it is usually reduced into flour, in order to be more easily packed. The Americans have acquired great skill in this process, and the flour especially made at Baltimore, is reckoned superior to any other. The quantity exported as grain, though somewhat considerable at the beginning of the century, has always diminished, and from 1832 to 1838 inclusive, did not exceed the annual average of 33,000 bushels. The amount of flour has fluctuated greatly with the harvest at home and the demand abroad, the value varying from four to fourteen millions of dollars. Indeed, during the years 1836, 1837, 1838, the average fell short of three millions. This, however, arose from that mania of speculation which then beset the nation, diverting its attention and capital from all solid industry. Since the disastrous crisis to which this error gave birth, affairs have been returning into their sound and natural channel, and from the great extent of new land brought under cultivation in the west, an augmenting surplus is anticipated. Accordingly, the value of flour exported rose in 1839 to nearly seven, and in 1840 to above ten millions of dollars. In that year, too, unground wheat began again to be exported, and reached even the amount of 1,635,000 dollars. A considerable value is also prepared in the form of biscuit, averaging in 1839 and 1840, 389,000 dollars. Indian corn is the only other grain of which the export is considerable; but since the beginning of the century

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it has diminished. In 1800, 1801, 1802, the average was 1,690,000 bushels corn, and 510,000 barrels of meal. In 1836, 1837, 1838, the first was only 515,000, the second, 154,000. The quantity in following years, from the temporary cause above alluded to, fell even much lower. Oats and rye have always been exported, but to an inconsiderable amount; the value of both in 1840 being only 283,000 dollars.

The most permanent markets have been the West Indies and the maritime provinces of British America. In the former, a large part of the population prefer wheaten bread, which cannot be raised on their own soil; while in the latter, the inhabitants are occupied chiefly in the fishery and timber trades, and the soil is barren or ill cultivated. Spain and Portugal were long standard quarters; and in 1812-1813, when the country was laid waste by the French war, and the Duke of Wellington's army was to be supplied, the amount much exceeded two millions sterling. Since that time, peace and increased culture have greatly reduced the demand, so as to render the trade of little importance. In its room has arisen the demand from Brazil, Mexico, and other southern states; and it has been reckoned, though perhaps with some exaggeration, that four millions of men in the New World are dependent on the Union for the bread which they eat. As Britain, in consequence of her corn-laws, imports only in years of decided scarcity, her amount fluctuates between nothing and a very large quantity. In 1831, it was 464,973 quarters; in 1837, only 37.

Rice, as already observed, was early an article both of production and export, but has not increased, though never, unless in some parts of Italy, an object of European culture. In 1803, 1804, 1805, there was exported annually a value of 2,170,000 dollars; in 1838, 1839, 1840, of 2,041,000 dollars. It is distributed pretty generally throughout Europe, in proportion to the wealth of each country, and in the following order as to importance:— Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Russia.

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A considerable quantity goes to the West Indies, but very little to any other part of America.*

Circumstances already explained respecting the state of agriculture, necessarily give rise to a large surplus of animal produce. As this, too, must be carried to distant markets, the most portable form is requisite, and is found by conveying the meat in a salted state, which occupies much less space than live-stock. The hog, in consequence of its excellence, and the facility of rearing, has afforded more and more the leading article. In 1803, 1804, 1805, the annual value of beef, tallow, hides, and horned cattle, was 1,403,000 dollars; in 1838, 1839, 1840, it was only 507,000; while in the former period, that of pork, bacon, lard, and live hogs, was 1,930,000; in the latter, 1,660,000. Horses and mules amounted in the first period to 316,600 dollars; in the second to 289,000. The value of butter and cheese was in the first 366,000; in the second 161,000. We may thus remark a considerable diminution, which can only be ascribed to increased domestic consumption, as the production must be much augmented. An extraordinary quantity of animal food is in fact consumed by the labouring class in America. Still, considering the great extension of culture in the states north of the Ohio, we can scarcely doubt that, like grain, it will begin now to advance. The returns for 1840 really exceed a good deal those of the two preceding years. This description of produce also is sent almost entirely to the West Indies and the British American colonies.†

The trade in the productions of the forest, as already observed, has also diminished in amount, and from the causes stated there appears no prospect of its revival. The timber is cut up chiefly into staves, shingles, heading, and other pieces suited for machinery, trade, and

* Pitkin, pp. 96, 121, 124. American Almanac, 1842, p. 146. Hunt, No. xxiv. p. 572. Porter's Tables, 1838, p. 64.
† Pitkin, p. 106. American Almanac, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842.

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packing, the market being almost exclusively the West Indies. Oak-bark and naval stores find one in Britain and other European countries. Ginseng is for the Chinese market.

Dried and pickled fish, the former consisting chiefly of cod, the latter of mackerel, have, as articles of export, materially diminished in amount since the beginning of the century, when the annual value of the former was 2,026,000 dollars, of the latter, 515,000; while in 1838, 1839, and 1840, they were respectively 625,000 and 170,000. The increase of internal consumption, and the superiority of the fish taken on the shores of British America, seem the chief causes. The market is now almost entirely in the West Indies; Spain, Portugal, and Italy, which once took off a considerable quantity, being supplied from the British fisheries. The arduous pursuit of the whale, on the contrary, has been materially extended. In 1803, 1804, 1805, the value of common whale oil and bone averaged 301,000 dollars; of spermaceti oil and candles, 102,000. In 1838, 1839, 1840, whale and other fish oil averaged, 1,158,000; bone, 306,000; spermaceti, 501,000. The whale-oil is sent mostly to Germany and Holland; some also to France, Denmark, Prussia, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Cuba, and Brazil. The spermaceti goes to various quarters, chiefly in the form of candles.*

Manufactures, from causes already noticed, do not and cannot form a leading branch of export from America; and she is not likely for a long time to supply herself with any of the finer fabrics, much less have a surplus to send abroad. There are, however, some plain common articles, which circumstances have enabled her to fabricate well and cheaply, and even supply to the markets of at least the western continent. The amount is gradually, though slowly, increasing. In the year 1829 it was 6,247,000 dollars; in 1831, 7,842,000; in 1835, 8,567,000; in 1837, 8,995,000; in 1838, 9,463,000; in 1839, 10,927,000.

* Pitkin, pp. 40, 46. American Almanac, 1840, 1841, 1842.

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The above, however, includes several articles which appear with doubtful propriety placed under this head. Such, in the last year, is 1,927,000 dollars gold and silver coin, which we never before saw classed as a manufacture. To justify this term, it seems necessary that the value of the workmanship should bear some considerable proportion to that of the raw material, which here is by no means the case. Even snuff, refined sugar, wax, pig and bar iron, seem rather modes of putting the material into a marketable shape, than working a new fabric out of it. Deducting, on these grounds, three millions, we leave only eight, making about a thirteenth of the total native produce exported. The principal heads are cotton piece goods, white, 2,525,000 dollars; coloured, 412,600. Iron manufactures, 748,800; soap and candles, 453,000; household furniture, 361,800; leather-boots, shoes, and saddlery, 216,000; wearing apparel, 167,900; hats, 123,000; gunpowder, 197,000. We cannot trace in detail the quarters to which they were sent, but imagine it was mostly to Cuba and the South American states; which latter take off almost all the cotton fabrics. No manufactured article reaches the British market, unless we reckon as such snuff and tobacco.

Besides the productions of their own industry, the States were at one time most extensively engaged in mutually exchanging the commodities of foreign countries. While war raged throughout Europe, leaving her almost the only neutral, she became the main channel by which the productions of the West and even the East Indies, sugar, coffee, cocoa, pepper, were exchanged for the wines, brandies, and manufactured goods of the European continent. To such an extent was this at one time carried, that her exports of foreign exceeded those of domestic produce; in the years 1805, 1806, and 1807, the former averaging 57,700,000, the latter only 44,800,000. Since the general peace, this branch has of course greatly declined. The activity of her merchants, and her favourable position, enabled her to retain a certain portion, yet rather diminishing. Nor is this a subject of

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regret; since such a circuitous commerce has been shown by Smith to be the least profitable, and only desirable when there is a surplus capital not required in the direct trade. The exports of foreign goods averaged

In the four years ended	1824,	$24,117,000
.....	1828,	25,464,000
.....	1832,	18,779,000
.....	1836,	21,346,000
.....	1840,	17,402,000*

The imports received in return for this large amount sent abroad are extensive and varied. From the above statements, they must evidently include a very large proportion of manufactured commodities; which Britain, from the superior excellence and cheapness of her wares, must chiefly supply. The principal heads are silks, woollens, linens, cottons, hardware, iron implements, earthenware, and glass. A large quantity of metallic produce is wanted, particularly iron, copper, brass, and tin; also the useful minerals of salt and coal. The exports of British produce and manufactures were, by the exorbitant tariff of 1828, reduced in that year under six, and in the following under five millions sterling; but as the restrictions were evaded and finally relaxed, the amount rapidly increased. In 1836 it reached to upwards of twelve millions; but this was the result of extravagant speculation, and could not be supported. In 1837 it dropped again to less than five; but in 1838 and 1839 the average was above eight millions; which, agreeing nearly with that of the two years preceding, may be considered as about the standing amount.† From France is derived the larger proportion of the silks, and a considerable part of the linens and even cottons. Wines and brandies are imported most largely from that country, and also from Madeira, Portugal, Spain, and other parts of Southern Europe, which supply likewise olive-oil and fruits. The only manufacture of consequence from this quarter appears to be the straw-hats of Leghorn. Although the territory

* Pitkin, p. 146. American Almanac, 1842, p. 120.
† Porter's Tables, 1839, p. 122.

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of the republic verges on the tropical, and yields liberally articles once supposed peculiar to it, there are still others for which she must be indebted to the warmer climates. Notwithstanding her considerable growth of sugar, she imports largely from the West Indies and Brazil, and to these quarters is solely indebted for coffee and cocoa. She must cross to another hemisphere, and from the coasts and islands of India draw pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and other spices. She reaches also China, and receives tea sufficient not only for her own consumption, but for some of her neighbours; likewise a considerable supply of silk fabrics.

The trade with Britain, previous to the separation, was nearly exclusive, and ever since has been by much the most extensive. Even in 1784, the first year of peace, the exports amounted to £749,345, the imports to £3,679,467. By 1801 the former had risen to 30,931,121 dollars (£6,959,000), the latter to 39,519,218 dollars (£7,903,000). These amounts were nearly supported till 1808, when the violent anti-commercial measures of the American government, followed up by war, produced a great interruption. They even flattered themselves with having become a manufacturing nation, nearly independent of foreign supply. As already observed, this hope was illusory; the artificial establishments were overthrown, and the trade resumed its natural character of an exchange of manufactured goods for raw produce. The government strove to counteract this tendency by high duties on importation, and finally by the exorbitant tariff of 1828. They could not, however, prevent a large contraband; while the extreme and just discontent of the agricultural interest compelled them to revert gradually to a reasonable protection. The advancing industry of the nation, however, furnished, to meet this impost, such an abundance of cotton and other agricultural produce, as not to leave even a pretext for the chimerical apprehension of an unfavourable balance. On an annual average of the three years 1838, 1839, and 1840, the imports, amounting to

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48,189,000 dollars (£10,841,000), were met by exports of 57,140,000 dollars (£12,856,000).

France ranks second in importance; yet she has only recently attained to this distinction. Previous to the revolution, she was entirely excluded; and the first results of independence by no means answered expectation. In the year 1787, her exports to the States were valued at about half a million sterling, her imports thence at little more than double; a miserable result, it was conceived, of her vast expenditure of blood and treasure in the war with Britain. In the years 1804, 1805, and 1806, the exports to France rose to about twelve millions of dollars; but this was mostly of foreign produce, and the result of the monopoly of the carrying trade gained by the neutral position of the Union, which was nearly lost through the operation of Napoleon's decrees, of the orders in council, and the war with Britain. On the restoration of peace in 1815, a decided increase began, consequent upon the improving industry of both nations. Raw cotton became the leading article of export; so that on an average from 1830 to 1833, the whole exports being about 9,000,000 dollars, that of cotton amounted to 7,000,000. A certain quantity of the manufactured article is now also imported from France. In 1833, the principal imports were silks, 6,427,000 dollars; wines, 499,000; brandies, 850,000; cottons, 795,000. The trade has continued to increase, till it has reached nearly half of that with Britain. In the years 1838, 1839, and 1840, the imports averaged 22,289,000 dollars (£5,014,000); the exports 18,609,000 (£4,187,000). Here we may observe the reverse of the case of Britain, the imports exceeding the exports; a subject of much anxiety to certain classes of politicians.

The transactions with other European nations are also considerable. To Holland and Belgium the exports in 1838-9-40 averaged 4,488,000 dollars; the imports from these countries 1,794,000; the former consisting of the principal American staples, as well as those of the West and even the East Indies, which are taken not only for internal consumption, but for distribution in the

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north of Europe. The returns are made in spirits and different kinds of manufactured goods. A similar trade is carried on with Hamburg and the other Hanse towns, for the supply of Germany; the imports and exports in 1838-9-40 averaging each about 3,400,000 dollars. From Russia the States draw hemp, cordage, sail-cloth, and other shipbuilding materials, to the average value, in these years, of 2,410,000 dollars; from Sweden iron, valued at 1,200,000. The exports to these countries were considerable only during the war with Britain, when quantities were sent with a view of circuitously reaching her markets; now they are confined to tobacco, rice, and West India produce, for the consumption of these kingdoms themselves. This, in the former, averages only about 1,100,000; in the latter 320,000. Spain, Portugal with Madeira, and Italy with Sicily, furnish considerable supplies of wine, brandy, fruits, and oil; the first to an average extent, during the above three years, of 1,482,000 dollars; the second of 774,000; the third of 1,616,000. The two first received at one time large supplies of flour and provisions, also of dried fish; but now their improved cultivation has rendered them independent of the one, and the other is supplied by the British fishery. The exports, therefore, do not average for the first above 475,000 dollars; for the second, 152,000. To Italy and Sicily, however, tobacco, rice, and West India products have been sent to the average extent of 677,000 dollars. The same articles, to the value of above a million, go to Trieste for the supply of the Austrian empire; the returns thence are only 400,000. A similar trade is carried on with Turkey; the imports being about half a million, exports 300,000.*

The West Indies have always formed one of the leading theatres of American traffic, which was favoured by their proximity, and the difference of climate and productions. The white inhabitants, mostly opulent,

* Pitkin, pp. 179, 213-240. American Almanac, 1840-1-2.

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stood in need of sundry articles that their own soil did not yield, but which their northern neighbours could abundantly supply, as flour, fish, and timber, for which they could make ample returns. The European powers, however, to whom these settlements belonged, were solicitous to secure the monopoly of their trade, and to limit their foreign intercourse. That with the British islands had been open to the States while united to the mother-country, but was shut after the separation. The British thus calculated, that their ships, carrying out a cargo to the American ports, and another thence to the West Indies, obtained a triple freight in one voyage. Yet by the treaty concluded with Mr Jay in 1794, they agreed to open these islands to vessels not exceeding 70 tons; and on this footing affairs remained, till interrupted by the embargo and subsequent war. In the treaty of 1814 no stipulation was made on the subject, and this branch of trade was again closed against the States. To counteract this measure, they laid a duty of two dollars a-ton on British vessels when arriving from the West Indies; and next year absolutely shut their ports against any coming direct from places whence American vessels were excluded. This restriction was severely felt; and in 1825, the British cabinet, which had then adopted very liberal views, opened the trade of its colonies to all foreign nations which should grant a reciprocal privilege, or, in case of their having no colonies, should place British commerce and shipping on the same footing as those of the most favoured nations. Congress declined taking advantage of this overture till May 1830, when they passed an act meeting its conditions. Lord Aberdeen, after receiving some explanations, by which our North American colonies were included, concurred in an arrangement, allowing American vessels to go directly, with domestic produce only, to these islands, on the same footing as British, and to convey their productions either to the States or to any other except the mother-country. The trade has thus continued open, yet has never risen to the same height as

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at the beginning of the century. In 1802-3-4, the average annual exports were valued at 6,089,000 dollars, the imports at 4,572,000; while in 1838-9-40, the first were only 2,576,000; the latter 1,208,000. The British northern colonies have in a great measure monopolized the trade in timber and fish; and the States form no longer, as during war, the channel for conveying West India produce to Europe. The intercourse with the colonies last mentioned is now a good deal more extensive. Flour and provisions find a market in the maritime territories, whose inhabitants are chiefly employed in the timber-trade and fishery; and a considerable proportion is said to be conveyed thence to the West Indies, and even to the mother-country, where it is admitted at a lower rate of duty. Average of 1838-9-40: exports, 4,127,000 dollars; imports, 1,905,000.

Spain, during the height of her domination, excluded with the utmost rigour all other powers from intercourse with her colonies. When, however, she became involved in a contest with Britain, which nearly destroyed her existence as a maritime power, it became necessary to accept the services of a neutral state, in order to render the resources of her islands available. The convulsions with which the mother-country was afterwards shaken loosened her hold of the colonies; and even those which adhered to her sought such accommodations as best suited themselves. These were fully presented, and the traffic almost wholly engrossed by the United States. Thus, between 1799 and 1801, the exports to the Spainish West Indies amounted nearly to nine, the imports thence to eleven millions. Even after the peace, their favourable situation enabled her to preserve a greater share of their trade than Spain herself, and even than all other nations put together. The rapid advance of Cuba has rendered the traffic of that fine island an object of great additional value. Besides the ordinary staples of flour, provisions, lumber, &c., a good part of the limited manufactures of the States here find a market; and they form the main channel by which her sugar and coffee are distributed over the

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world. Hence the average of the three years was—imports, 11,376,000 dollars; exports, 6,100,000. That of Porto Rico, from similar causes, has amounted to—imports, 2,725,000; exports, 796,000.

The Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South America were also, prior to the late great changes, completely shut against the vessels of the States and of every foreign nation. Whatever commerce took place being contraband, though probably considerable, was not embodied in any record. When, however, in 1808, the Prince Regent of Portugal was obliged by the French invasion to remove the seat of his empire to Brazil, that country was of course thrown open to the rest of the world. In 1807, the States had only sent thither a value of 5000 dollars; in 1809, it rose to 883,000; and in 1811, to 1,649,000. The trade has continued constantly increasing with the advance of that great country in the production of sugar, coffee, and other tropical articles. The average of 1838-9-40, was—in imports, 4,470,000 dollars; exports, 2,600,000.

From the time when the Spanish colonies first began to throw off the yoke of the mother-country, their trade was to a great extent virtually opened; yet it was not till 1825, when their independence was fully acknowledged, that regular accounts of the intercourse began to be kept. To them, as to Cuba, the States send wheat-flour, which is still preferred as bread by the white inhabitants; provisions, fish, lumber, and the greater part of the manufactured articles which they are able to export. The state of anarchy, however, in which these new republics have always continued, has prevented that increase in the value of their trade which has been so striking in Brazil. That with Mexico even has very sensibly diminished since 1825-6-7, when the exports averaged 5,641,000 dollars, the imports 4,383,000; while in 1838-9-40, the first were only 2,488,000; the second 2,930,000. The following table exhibits the average during these three years of the other South American States:—

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	Exports.	Imports.
Central America,	$225,000	$178,000
Colombia,	797,000	1,753,000
Argentine Republic (Buenos Ayres),	327,000	609,000
Cisplatane Republic (Monte Video),	99,000	379,000
Chili,	1,630,000	1,228,000
Peru,	67,000	438,000

It may be observed, that the exports to Peru in 1838 amounted to 203,000 dollars, but the tables exhibit blanks for the two following years. That country is, we believe, in a great measure, supplied from Chili.*

The adventurous spirit of American merchants has not been limited to their own continent, or the shores of the Atlantic. They have passed the Cape, and opened an intercourse with the extensive and fertile but remote countries in the south of Asia. This career was greatly favoured during the long European war, by their position as neutrals making them the sole channel through which the produce of these regions could reach the continental countries. In the years 1800 and 1801, the imports thence in coffee, pepper, and spices, averaged four millions of dollars. It declined after the peace, and in 1838-39-40, the average was—exports, 437,000 dollars; imports, 695,000. The British possessions, which are chiefly on the continent of India, were opened to them from the period of independence, on the footing of the most favoured foreigners; and this privilege was fully recognised by the treaty of 1794. In 1815, however, when the trade was generally laid open to British subjects, the United States vessels were limited, like them, to the principal settlements,—Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Prince of Wales Island. They were permitted to touch for refreshments, but not for trade, at the Cape of Good Hope and St Helena. At the beginning of the century, the import branch of this trade was considerable, averaging in the years 1800-1801, four millions of dollars, though the exports were only about 100,000. They took off a large quantity of cheap cottons; but congress seeking, with a doubtful policy,

* Pitkin, pp. 193-199, 211, 221. American Almanac, 1840-1-2.

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to encourage native manufactures, passed an act by which every fabric under 1s. 1½d. per square yard was rated and paid duty at that full amount. The importation was thus effectually stopped, and has since been confined mostly to indigo and silks; and the exports consist of miscellaneous articles of no great amount. In 1838-39-40, the latter averaged 570,000 dollars; the former, 1,555,000.

The greatest achievement of the Americans, however, was the communication opened with the very remote country of China, in the year following the close of the war of independence, when a person named Green performed the voyage, returning in 1785. In the end of that year, Captain Deane of Albany, in a sloop of eighty-four tons, built for the coasting trade, and with a crew of seven, set sail, and in May 1786, arrived safely at Canton. His example was so actively followed, that in 1789, fifteen American flags were seen flying off that port. The wars of Europe gave a powerful impulse to this as to other trades; and for many years American vessels alone supplied the continental nations with the teas, silks, fine cottons, and porcelain of that empire. The imports and exports in 1806 both exceeded five millions; and even after peace the trade was well supported, and continued still only second to the British. Between 1819 and 1823 it reached its height, the average being eight millions of exports, and seven of imports. It has since very much declined. In 1838-39-40, the former were 1,386,000 dollars; the latter, 5,027,000. Indeed it can only appear wonderful that, in so new a country, a commerce thus distant should be supported to such an extent.

From documents recently published, we can give the following progressive view of American commerce since 1697 :—

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Trade with Great Britain.			General Trade.		
Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1697	£279,000	£140,000	1791	$19,012,000	$52,200,000
1700	395,000	344,000	1795	47,989,000	69,756,000
1705	151,000	292,000	1800	70,972,000	91,253,000
1710	250,000	294,000	1805	95,566,000	120,000,000
1715	297,000	452,000	1810	66,758,000	85,400,000
1720	463,000	320,000	1815	52,558,000	113,041,000
1725	416,000	550,000	1820	69,692,000	74,450,000
1730	573,000	537,000	1825	99,535,000	96,340,000
1735	652,000	669,000	1830	73,850,000	70,877,000
1740	717,000	813,000	1831	81,311,000	103,191,000
1745	554,000	535,000	1832	87,177,000	101,029,000
1750	815,000	1,314,000	1833	90,140,000	108,118,000
1755	940,000	1,113,000	1834	104,337,000	126,521,000
1760	761,000	2,612,000	1835	121,694,000	149,896,000
1765	1,152,000	1,944,000	1836	128,663,000	189,980,000
1770	1,016,000	1,926,000	1837	117,419,000	140,989,000
1775	1,921,000	201,000	1838	108,437,000	113,717,000
1784	749,000	3,679,000	1839	121,028,000	162,092,000
1790	1,191,000	3,432,000	1840	132,085,000	107,141,000

It will be observed that the account, down to 1791, shows only the intercourse with Britain. This, till the separation, was by much the largest branch; yet the colonists were allowed to carry certain articles to the West Indies, and even to the south of Europe, the proceeds of which doubtless enabled them to clear that large surplus of imports over exports, which may be noticed to take place from 1750 downwards.

Shipbuilding was an object to which the attention of the colonists could scarcely fail to be early directed; the vast ocean over which they had to transport their goods rendering the means of conveyance of primary importance. The materials, too, were in a remarkable degree abundant and accessible, forming a leading staple of the country; and to convert them into ships was really the most convenient method of conveying such bulky articles to a distant market. Those advantages counterbalanced the obstacles attending any thing like manufacture, and rendered nugatory those opposed by the mother-country, through the mean jealousies then prevalent. In 1772, there were built 182 ships, with a

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burden of 26,544 tons, being an average of about 140 to each vessel. Of these, 123, of 18,149 tons, were built in New England; 15 in New York; the rest were divided in small portions among the other colonies. These vessels were commonly sent with provisions and timber to the West Indies, where they took in a fresh cargo, and proceeded to England.

There appears a want of very early notices respecting American tonnage. In 1770, the amount entered was 331,644 tons; that cleared out, 351,686. The statement is supposed to have been about a third underrated, in order to evade the duties; but it includes no allowance for repeated voyages. Weighing these things together, Mr Pitkin supposes that the tonnage may in that year have been about 300,000. Of the amount entered, 118,500 belonged to New England, and of that cleared out, 131,400. New York had only 25,000 and 26,000 respectively, being little more than half that of Pennsylvania, and exceeded even by Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. The difference between the number entered and cleared out was owing to the ships built and sent to Britain as an article of merchandise.

After the establishment of independence, and the formation of the central government in 1789, it became a primary object to encourage American shipping, and discriminating duties were laid both on foreign tonnage and the goods imported by it. This measure, and still more the progress of commerce, has produced an increase which Mr Pitkin considers the most rapid ever experienced by any nation. In the American accounts, the tonnage is divided into the registered, being that employed in foreign trade, and the enrolled or licensed, engaged on the coast and in the fisheries. The following exhibits a view of the progressive augmentation of both :—

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Years.	Registered.	Enrolled.	Total.
1790	346,000	132,000	478,000
1795	529,000	219,000	748,000
1800	670,000	302,000	972,000
1805	749,000	391,000	1,140,000
1810	984,000	441,000	1,425,000
1815	854,000	514,000	1,368,000
1820	619,000	661,000	1,280,000
1825	701,000	722,000	1,423,000
1830	576,000	615,000	1,191,000
1835			1,825,000
1839			2,115,000

It will be observed that the home tonnage has increased much more rapidly than the foreign, doubtless owing to the great extension of internal navigation on the rivers and lakes. The registered part, indeed, appears at certain periods, instead of advancing, to undergo a sudden and large diminution. This arises only from an irregularity in keeping the accounts, it having been customary, while adding annually all the new-built vessels, to make no deduction for those lost or become unfit for use. To remedy this error, there were successively struck off, in 1811, 1818, and 1829, about 200,000 at once; but since this last period, the proper annual reduction has been attended to. In 1832, the tonnage employed in the coasting trade is stated at 649,600 tons; in the fisheries, at 102,800.

The following is a statement of the ships owned, the number of seamen, and the tonnage of the Union, distinguishing each state; but from imperfection of materials, we have been obliged to give the two first heads for 1831, while the last is for 1839. As the tonnage during that period has increased four-fifths, so, doubtless, have the vessels and seamen :—

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	Vessels.	Seamen.	Tons.
Maine	1,973	9,069	282,285
New Hampshire	192	1,344	29,224
Vermont	19	109	4,232
Massachusetts	3,161	23,270	526,364
Rhode Island	291	1,854	44,572
Connecticut	377	1,496	83,014
New York	1,905	12,750	468,593
New Jersey	787	1,832	62,540
Pennsylvania	618	3,645	112,359
Delaware	94	421	19,203
Maryland	1,034	4,139	116,203
Columbia	177	734	23,142
Virginia	525	1,954	51,808
North Carolina	327	988	40,841
South Carolina	89	208	33,414
Georgia	50	196	20,942
Alabama	73	296	21,742
Mississippi	17	42	
Louisiana	399	2,789	109,076
Ohio	36	166	23,925
Michigan	37	107	10,999
Florida	77	335	8,672
Tennessee			4,240
Kentucky			8,125
Missouri			9,735
	12,258	67,744	2,115,250

The following is a progressive view of the tonnage which entered the ports of the United States, distinguishing American from foreign :—

Years.	American.	Foreign.	Total.
1790	355,000	251,000	606,000
1795	580,000	57,000	637,000
1800	683,000	124,000	807,000
1805	922,000	88,000	1,010,000
1810	906,000	80,000	986,000
1815	700,000	217,000	917,000
1820	801,000	79,000	880,000
1825	886,000	95,000	981,000
1830	870,000	134,000	1,004,000
1832	972,000	412,000	1,384,000
1839	1,491,000	625,000	2,116,000

Here, amid the general advance, we observe that of the foreign, within the last few years, to have been more than proportionate. It comes chiefly from our North Ame-

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rican colonies, which owned 332,000 tons of the 625,000 that entered in 1839. Mr Pitkin ascribes it to discriminating duties in the West Indies, which cause the merchandise of the States to be conveyed thither by this circuitous channel. There seems nothing to have prevented their own ships from conveying it to these colonies; and we cannot therefore but suspect the real cause to be the great progress made by the latter in the timber trade and shipbuilding. The tonnage employed in intercourse with Great Britain is 129,000 belonging to that empire, and 283,000 American. Other countries which employ their own shipping to some extent, are the Hanse Towns, France, Sweden, Holland, Cuba, and the British West Indies.*

The Americans obtained recently full possession of the grand line of navigation between New York and Philadelphia on one side, and Liverpool on the other. The vessels employed on it, called *liners*, from their admirable sailing construction, high finish, and splendid accommodations, are considered by Mr Stevenson the finest that navigate the ocean. Those from New York are classed somewhat curiously, as the Old or Black Ball Line, comprising eight vessels; the Dramatic, the Star, and the Swallow-tail, each four. The first sails twice in the month, the three others only once. The average passage in the old line was from America to Britain, 22½ days; in the opposite direction, 33 days 17 hours,—a difference owing to the prevalence of westerly winds on the Atlantic. The shortest one, in the first direction, was 19, the longest 36 days; in the second, the numbers run between 25 and 48. The Dramatic line appears, on the whole, more expeditious, its average from New York being 20½ days: two passages were performed in 17, and 25 was the longest. From Liverpool the average was 30 days 9 hours; the shortest 23, the longest 38. The Swallow-tail seems nearly on a level with the Dramatic, and the Star with the old one. These lines judiciously manage to sail at different periods of the month, so that a week never elapses without one or other taking their departure.†

* Pitkin, p. 345-352. Hunt's Magazine, No. xvii. p. 448-492.
† Stevenson, p. 19. Hunt's Magazine, No. xli. p. 83.

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But the time came when a mightier instrument was to be employed in traversing the ocean which separates the two hemispheres. Steam navigation had been gradually extending its range; first confined to the smooth channel of rivers, then venturing into firths and narrow seas; next braving the ocean, but only for a few summer months; and, lastly, traversing at every season all the coasts of the United Kingdom. The question then arose, whether it might not be applied to the intercourse with America, the most important commercial line in the world. It might have been expected that the Americans, so distinguished by enterprise, and having first brought steam navigation to a practical bearing, would have taken the lead in this great experiment. In fact, as early as 1818, the steam-ship Savannah was launched at New York, and sailed under Captain Moses Rogers; carrying, however, only seventy-five tons of coal, and provided with masts and sails, so that steam was employed chiefly as an auxiliary. She reached Liverpool in twenty-six days, somewhat beyond the average of the ordinary liners, —a result by no means very promising.

In England, meantime, the subject was debated with intense interest. In 1825, the Enterprise steamer performed the distant voyage to the East Indies, but, like the Savannah, using steam only as an auxiliary, and without accomplishing any superior speed. It was argued by many, that besides the danger from the heavy swell of the Atlantic, fuel sufficient for so long a voyage could not, consistently with other objects, be stowed on board. But practical shipbuilders and engineers, after a thorough consideration of the subject, formed a different opinion; and two companies, the British and American Steam Navigation at London, and the Great Western Steam-ship at Bristol, were almost contemporaneously formed. The latter was established on the 2d June 1836, and their first vessel, "the Great Western," was begun on the 28th July, and launched on the 19th of the same month in the following year; but a long period being spent in testing her machinery, it was the 8th April 1838 before she set sail. The London Company had not completed any vessels;

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but they chartered the Sirius, and despatched her from Cork on the 4th of the same month. She arrived at New York on the 23d, and, by a singular chance, in the course of the same day the Great Western also made her appearance. The excitement thus produced in that city, and the crowds who flocked to view the entrance of these noble vessels, are described as almost unparalleled.

The London Company did not continue to run the Sirius, but laid down another on an immense scale, to be called the British Queen. While her rival had only 1340 tons, and 450 horse-power, her tonnage was 2016, and her horse-power 500. Owing to various obstructions she was not ready till July 1839, by which time the Great Western had made fifteen trips. The Queen sailed on the 12th, and arrived on the 27th, having made the voyage in 14 days 18 hours. The Bristol vessel, in the course of twenty-five trips, during 1838-39-40, made one voyage to New York in 13 days; her longest was 21½; the average 16. In returning, she made three in 12 days; the longest in 15; average, 13⅓. The British Queen, in six trips out, made one in 14 days; the longest in 20½, average, 17¾. Of five return voyages, the shortest was 13½, longest 22¾, average 16. The former vessel had thus very considerably the advantage in point of speed.

It might seem singular that Liverpool, hitherto the grand medium of intercourse with the Western World, should have been left behind in this career. Its practicability, however, being now demonstrated, the Transatlantic Steam-ship Company was there formed in the summer of 1838; and in the course of the year, they placed on the route to New York two vessels, the Liverpool and the Royal William. These, however, were only preliminary to the construction of one on a gigantic scale, surpassing any other that traversed the ocean. On the 9th December 1839, was launched the President, of 2366 tons, 600 horse-power, and fitted up in a style of hitherto unrivalled magnificence. She performed her first voyage in August 1840. Her tragical fate, however, must be familiar to our readers; for on the 11th February 1841, she left New York, and was heard of no more.

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The British government, on this grand experiment being fully decided, lost very little time in availing themselves of it for the transmission of mails and despatches. Instead, however, of constructing vessels themselves, they adopted the more economical and judicious expedient of agreeing with Mr Cunard, a citizen of London, who undertook, for an annual payment of £60,000, to place four steamers on the line between Liverpool, Halifax, and Boston. He agreed to run twice a-month for the greater part of the year, but only once during the depth of winter. It was considered as now proved that the enormous dimensions of the British Queen and the President were not the best fitted either for speed or safety. The Great Western, which had performed her voyages with the most uniform success, was taken as the model; but even her dimension of 1340 tons was reduced to 1200, while the horse-power being 440, bore a greater proportion to the tonnage than in former vessels. This line of packets has accordingly crossed the Atlantic with tolerable safety and greater speed than any previously formed.*

The following account of the disasters which befell American vessels at sea may not be without interest:—

Years.	Vessels Lost.	Lives Lost.	Vessels Missing.
1836	316	826	12
1837	493	1295	30
1838	427	756	27
1839	442	537	37
Average,	419½	853½	26½

It is painful to observe that the loss of lives must have been considerably beyond the above, which includes only the cases reported, not those in the missing vessels, nor perhaps completely even the others. Of those lost in 1839, 74 were ships and barques, 124 brigs, 187 schooners, 16 sloops, 9 steamers, 32 unknown.†

It may be useful to merchants to subjoin a brief summary of the rates at which vessels are insured by the board of underwriters of New York. From an

* Hunt, No. xvi. p. 297, &c. American Almanac, 1841, p. 85.
† Hunt, No. x. p. 345.

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Atlantic port to one in Europe, between 1st October and 15th March, the rate is 1 per cent.; for the rest of the year, $\frac{5}{4}$. From Great Britain and the Mediterranean to the Atlantic ports, $1\frac{1}{2}$; and if the cargo be hardware, 2. From Havre it is only $1\frac{1}{4}$. From the States to St Petersburg the premium is $1\frac{1}{2}$, and the same in returning, provided the vessel sails prior to 15th August; from that time to 15th September it is 2; to 1st October, 3; to 15th October, 4; and all after this last date, 6. From Europe to a port in the Gulf of Mexico the rate is 2 per cent.; but returning thence, between 15th March and 1st October, only $1\frac{1}{4}$; the rest of the year, $1\frac{1}{2}$.

We shall conclude with some account of those great havens by which the foreign trade of the country is carried on. Boston, once the principal, has been now completely surpassed by New York, which, next to London, and perhaps Liverpool, is the greatest seat of trade in the world. Its situation at the mouth of the Hudson, connected by the Great Canal with Lake Erie, renders it the chief entrepot of the produce of the north-western territory. All the Atlantic states have a choice of admirable harbours formed by the great variety of deep bays, sounds, and islands; but New York is in this respect pre-eminent. It occupies the southern extremity of a long narrow island, having on one side the sound that separates it from Long Island, and on the other the main branch of the Hudson, here expanded into a species of frith. To the south of the city these unite in a splendid land-locked bay, nine miles in length and about five in breadth, forming a magnificent natural port, in which an almost unlimited number of vessels can lie, protected from the roll of the Atlantic, and having deep water close to the shore. The European visiter, however, is disappointed when, instead of the solid stone-docks, the high enclosing walls, and the covered verandahs, reared at London, Liverpool, and Havre, he is landed on an open quay, rudely formed of timber and earth, and affording in wet

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weather a very muddy and slippery footing. This defect, common to all the American havens, is ascribed by Mr Stevenson to their extreme security, which dispenses with those elaborate structures necessary to protect from the assault of wind and tide the exposed harbours of Europe. The quays are formed by wooden piles driven close to each other at the margin of the water, and projected from the shore till they reach a depth sufficient to float the largest vessels, usually at the distance of forty or fifty feet. The space behind the piles is filled up with earth. This rude quay-wall extends seven miles around New York on its eastern and southern sides, and is easily and rapidly enlarged to meet the increasing trade. The want of fixed cranes, and of graving-docks for the repair of vessels, is seriously felt, though rude substitutes are employed. This port has three passages into the Atlantic, the most commodious being that called the Narrows, between Long and Staten islands, about two miles broad, and with a depth capable of admitting the largest ships. Mr Stevenson considers this easy entrance into the ocean a peculiar advantage. He set sail at half-past eleven in the forenoon, and by seven in the evening, saw nothing but sea and sky; while from London and Liverpool a ship has two or three days of intricate navigation through the English or Irish channel.

Mr M'Culloch estimates the merchandise annually loaded and unloaded at from 40 to 45 millions sterling. During the active season the harbour usually contains from 500 to 800 vessels, besides about 60 steamers. In 1838, the arrivals from foreign ports amounted to 1790; those of coasting vessels to about 5000. Nearly two-thirds of all the imports are received here, and thence distributed over the Union. The exports are not so large,—the articles of cotton, tobacco, and rice being mostly laden in the ports of those southern states which produce them.*

Boston, though left behind by New York, has itself

* Stevenson, p. 17-25. Hunt, No. x. p. 313. M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 402.

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made rapid progress, containing, in 1820, 43,000 inhabitants; in 1840, 93,000. It is situated on a peninsula connected with the continent by a narrow ridge called Boston Neck. Seven bridges, and an embankment 8000 feet long, unite it at different points with the mainland. The harbour consists of a spacious bay, covering 75 square miles, and so completely enclosed by projecting promontories, that only a very narrow entrance is left into the Atlantic. This, however, has depth of water sufficient for the largest vessels, which within are completely sheltered from the ocean waves, and enjoy the additional protection of a number of small islands. The quays are constructed of the same rude materials as at New York, but with somewhat greater attention to durability. Some of the wharfs extend about a quarter of a mile into the harbour, and have rows of warehouses built on them. At the suburb of Charleston is the navy-yard, and two graving docks, the only ones existing in the United States. They were erected by government at an expense of £304,000, and are of great extent, well constructed of gray-coloured granite, and capable of receiving the largest vessels. In 1840, Boston owned 153,000 tons of shipping; 1553 vessels entered her port, and 1389 cleared out. She carries on a very great intercourse with the southern states and the West Indies, sending thither the produce of her fishery, cattle, and manufactures, and receiving in return their commodities, which she partly re-exports. Her foreign trade is not nearly so extensive as that of New York; and like that city she has a large balance of imports, paid by bills on the southern states.

Philadelphia is situated at the head of the ship-waters of the great bay of Delaware, where it is still capable of receiving the largest vessels. On the Schuylkill there is another harbour, to which are brought the coal and other products of the interior. The city owns 96,860 tons of shipping, and has extensive commerce, but chiefly with the other states, to which flour, provisions, and coal are sent. The foreign trade is also considerable; and there is a regular communication with Liverpool by packets.

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Baltimore is commodiously situated near the head of the great inlet of the Chesapeake, which receives the Potomac and other large rivers. Strenuous efforts have been made, though as yet with partial success, to extend the communications far into the interior. Tobacco is a staple article of export, and the flour is reckoned the best in America. Herrings, shad, and oysters are abundant in the neighbouring seas and coasts. The basin composing the harbour is a splendid expanse, described as capable of containing 2000 vessels at anchor. The tonnage in 1840 was 71,500. The exports of the state, chiefly from this city, amounted in that year to 5,768,000 dollars, the imports to 4,910,000.

Charleston in South Carolina, the main haven of the south, stands on a neck of land formed by the junction of the rivers Ashley and Cooper. They unite into a broad channel, the entrance of which is obstructed by a chain of sandbanks, which large vessels can pass only at high water; but once above it, they find safe and spacious anchorage. Charleston is the main emporium for the export of the rice and cotton produced in the state, in exchange for which it obtains almost all articles of consumption, partly from the places of production, and partly from New York. This trade, however, appears to have been stationary; and the population, instead of increasing as in the other cities, has even in some small degree diminished. In 1830, it was 30,289; in 1840, only 29,261.

Very different is the case with New Orleans, which has advanced with a rapidity surpassing even the extraordinary rise of New York. In 1800, the inhabitants were under 6000; in 1840, they amounted to 102,193. Many anticipate that in another century it will become the greatest emporium in America, or even in the world. It commands indeed the central trunk of the Mississippi navigation, which has no equal, except that of the yet desert Orellana. The countries watered by that great river possess natural capacities of a magnitude elsewhere perhaps unparalleled, and these have latterly been developed with unexampled rapidity. It must be

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recollected, however, that New York, by artificial channels, has drawn off a large proportion of the traffic, her position on the ocean being more favourable for distant commerce; and efforts with the same object are making by others of the great Atlantic cities. Previous to the use of steam, New Orleans was an extremely incommodious haven, being a hundred miles from the sea, and the river channel tortuous, encumbered by shoals, and destitute of safe anchorage; but that great improvement has rendered it one of the most accessible of harbours,—steam tugs conveying the vessels up and down speedily and safely. On arriving, they are commodiously disposed along the Levee, an embankment raised for protection against the river, which rises at some seasons higher than the ground upon which the city stands. Here gigantic steamers are ranged in numerous tiers, while farther up lie crowds of arks or rafts employed to bring down the more bulky produce of the interior. New Orleans already equals any other port in the value of her exports. In 1840, they amounted to 34,236,000 dollars; but the imports only to 10,673,000. The chief heads of the former were 954,191 bales of cotton; 28,028 hogsheads of tobacco; 45,511 hogsheads and 5978 barrels of sugar; 8,937 hogsheads and 42,926 barrels of molasses; but a great part, and indeed the whole of the two last articles, were sent coastwise. The tonnage of this port ranks third after that of New York and Boston, amounting in 1839 to 109,076.*

* Stevenson, p. 29-41. M'Culloch, vol. i. p. 420; vol. ii. p. 508. Hunt, No. xv. p. 267; xvii. p. 454. American Almanac, 1841, p. 144. Several tables, embodying the most recent commercial statements, and the statistical results of the census of 1840, will be given at the close of the last volume.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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